THE PAPERS *of the*
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
OF AMERICA

VOLUME FIFTY-FIVE FOURTH QUARTER, 1961

A Stone Thrown at the Map Maker*

By KENNETH NEBENZAHL

BECAUSE of the studies of Bagrow, Brown, Nordenskiold, Phillips, Wagner, Wroth, and many other equally successful investigators, we have available a great deal of information about the history of cartography from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries. We have been supplied with many details concerning the compiling of geographical information for those maps, and how they were printed. Often the influence early maps had on their time has been developed for us. So far, though, with one encouraging exception—Carl Wheat's great carto-bibliography of the Transmissisippi West—there has been little intellectual energy expended toward analyzing map making and publishing during the 1800's. I feel such an analysis would be a welcome addition to the reference works we now have at our disposal. This paper[1] is a preliminary investigation into the area of American map and atlas production and publication in the nineteenth century, a field which requires more notice than it has so far received.

For this particular period one phase which should be emphasized is the processes by which the maps were reproduced, because it was an

* The essay was read, in slightly different form, at a meeting of the Society held at the Rowfant Club in Cleveland on 10 July.

[1] I am pleased to express my appreciation to the staff of the Newberry Library and to Dr. Carl H. Mapes of Rand, McNally & Co., for their assistance in preparing this paper.

era which saw much change. The processes used to print maps were those common to the field of illustrative printing. Copper, wood, steel, stone, and wax are among the materials involved, and it would be enlightening for us to become aware of how, why, and when they were employed. All the answers will not be found here. It is a large field and to develop it properly is a project of several years' duration.

When Mathew Carey of Philadelphia published his *American Atlas* in 1795, the method he used to reproduce his maps was over 300 years old. This, the first American atlas printed in the United States, was made up of copperplate engraved maps. These maps were produced by a process which, while having undergone minor refinements, was essentially the same as that used by Arnoldis Buckinck for his 1478 folio edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*, one of the first books illustrated with copperplate engravings, and the earliest atlas with fine copper engraved maps. This process, used by Buckinck, by Carey, and by many map makers who came between them, continued to be popular well into the nineteenth century.

Woodcuts, however, served simultaneously to reproduce maps. They appear in many editions of Ptolemy's *Geography* from 1482 until 1552, as well as in the various editions of Munster's *Cosmography*, and were also used for numerous individual maps. The woodcut virtually disappeared as far as maps were concerned, however, before the appearance of Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* in 1570, which stands at the beginning of a 250-year period of copper engraved atlases. During the nineteenth century, the revival of woodcuts and wood engravings was quite limited and was confined primarily to newspaper and magazine maps, and the rather crude ones used in gold seeker's and emigrant's guidebooks and early railroad guides.

Lithography, the younger brother of relief printing and intagliography, was invented by the Bavarian, Senefelder, in 1796. In just over twenty years it was in use on the Continent, in Britain, and in America for a large variety of illustrations and for sheet music. This new and versatile process was employed to make maps shortly thereafter, and lithography became most important in nineteenth-century cartography. The large, six-volume *Atlas Universal* of Vandermaelen, published in Brussels in 1827, containing 379 colored maps, was one of the earliest major geographical works to take advantage of the new

process. In America, Pendleton's Lithography in Boston was an early firm to make maps on stone. In 1830 they made the "Map of Oregon" for Hall J. Kelley's popular promotional tract, *A Geographical Sketch of that Part of North America Called Oregon.* . . . In 1836 the same firm produced one of the most important single maps of that century: Albert Gallatin's "Map of the Indian Tribes of North America . . . ," which was published by the American Antiquarian Society in its *Transactions.* . . .[2]

Lithography had many advantages over copperplate engraving. Considerably more impressions could be made without noticeable wear. Detail was clearly shown. In general, costs were greatly reduced. Stone lithography, later superseded by its offspring, offset lithography, became the best method for reproducing maps in quantity. What complicated an otherwise simple transition from copperplate to lithography was the economics of publishing, which played an important role in the succession of events and provided some interesting paradoxes. Intaglio-printed atlases, engraved on copper and later on steel, continued to be produced well into the third quarter of the century. In some cases the same publisher who was regularly reissuing his large, general atlas from engraved plates, was producing separate lithographed maps at the same time for other use. The explanation for this appears to rest in the value of the plates on hand to the publisher, which represented a large investment; and the relatively slow contribution of new geographic information which would force him to remake every map in his series. Simple revisions were easily and inexpensively made.

Another interruption of the simple transition was the reversion to letterpress printing of maps brought about by relief plate printing. This method was based upon cerography, or wax engraving, which had been in occasional use for maps from as early as the 1840's. It was with an improvement of this technique that Rand McNally, who had been primarily job printers in Chicago since 1856, opened their map engraving department in 1872. This process was used by that firm in some of their atlases until very recently.

What did wax engraving have to offer? There were several advantages: the ability to print illustrations at the same time and on the

[2] II (1836), 442.

same page as type matter (an advantage enjoyed by the woodcut, years before); the low cost of corrections and changes; metal type could be used for all the names on the map in place of the hand lettering required by engraving and lithographing; and an assembly-line setup could replace the efforts of the single craftsman. Let us examine the features of efficient corrections and changes. The last three decades of the nineteenth century saw an increased demand for detail on maps by those using them for commercial purposes such as marketing and shipping, coupled with a vastly accelerated rate of change caused by westward emigration and the growth of railroads. These two factors required many more revisions, made more rapidly, by the publisher and printer than had been necessary earlier.

Since the process of wax engraving is less well known to us than wood cutting, copper engraving, and lithographing, I shall review it briefly in eight steps:

1. The manuscript map is drawn to the size of the finished map, with all details.
2. It is traced onto a copper sheet which has been coated with a thin layer of wax.
3. The lines are incised with a graver which cuts just through the wax to the metal.
4. The lettering is hand-stamped through the wax to the plate with individual metal letters.
5. All major areas where no engraved line or lettering exist are built up with heated wax to provide depth to the finished plate.
6. The plate is dusted with graphite to create conductivity, and then immersed in the electroplating bath.
7. The shell is backed with type metal and this is the master or pattern plate.
8. A wax mold is then made to reproduce the pattern plate for the worker plates which will actually be used on the press.

Although the wax engraving itself is destroyed during the electroplating, the use of worker plates prevents wear to the pattern plate, which can be used almost indefinitely. Toward the end of their era, plates

made by wax engraving were even corrected and changed by patching them with zinc plates made photographically, and the result was almost unnoticeable.

While the process just described was still in use, photoengraving was perfected. This method of plate making, combined with the offset lithography printing process, which became popular for map making with the advent of road maps early in the present century, has been responsible for most of our modern maps. It is interesting to note, however, that the paradoxes still exist. In 1958 the Container Corporation of America, in producing its handsome *World Geo-Graphic Atlas*, employed an Italian firm to produce many of the maps. The process used by them was stone lithography.

There is a map-making process less than ten years old which is already in quite general use. It is called scribing. The method of making the plate has much in common with the first copper plate, although the printing process is offset lithography. It is certainly a further step toward accommodating the need for mass production in map publishing, and a large step away from the dependence on the highly skilled individual craftsman referred to below. It is introduced here to illustrate how considerably map-making techniques have changed. A sheet of clear polyester film, such as Mylar, is coated with a thin layer of an orange waxy substance that is photosensitive. The base map, either a manuscript original or a printed map to be revised, is photographed directly onto this film. All of the lines are then engraved through the coating to the film itself with a most ingenious scribing tool. This tool features a universal joint below its handle into which a cutting blade can be fastened. There are as many different blades as there are widths of roads, boundary lines, and so forth, to be shown. Double and triple blades will provide two and three parallel lines. The instrument is fitted with a magnifying glass through which the draftsman controls his work. He merely draws the scriber along the lines photographed on his sheet, and in doing so removes the coating from the film. Type is set and proofed on pressure-sensitive transparent plastic tape, which is easily stuck in place. He has then actually produced a handmade negative which is used directly for platemaking. One of the most important features of this method is that a man can learn an occupation in two weeks' time for which, in the days of draft-

ing original maps freehand, he would have spent several years' apprenticeship.

I have touched on processes—relief, intaglio, and planographic—with the implication that it would be constructive for us to know more about their use for maps. But there are other important areas which, under a comprehensive study of map making since 1800, also could be developed and would add considerably to our knowledge. Map publishing grew to be a large and important business in America during the nineteenth century. A great deal of this growth was facilitated by the development of new processes for printing maps, but it was caused by the greater demand for the information the maps contained. During the period we are considering, this country's territorial area increased and new states were added. Detailed surveys had to be made down to the township, section, and quarter section level. Disputes about borders were not uncommon between the states. Many such disputes stemmed from much earlier cartographical errors which had to be corrected. The growth in numbers and geographical distribution of our population were carried on at a rapid rate. The expanding commercial and industrial community, with its widening marketing activities, caused in part by the westward movement, made new demands on the map maker and new uses for his maps. It will be interesting to speculate on what form the map of the future may take when considering the many changes it has undergone in the past, compared with the proposed substitutes for the book as known today. But this is another subject.

It would be of great benefit to present and future scholars to have available the results of a comprehensive study of all aspects of map making. Can we interest someone of ability in developing this topic?

The Authenticity of Chatterton's *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*

By Donald S. Taylor

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, every editor of Chatterton had to fight the Rowley battle again in preface, notes, and lengthy appendices. The twentieth-century editor must do private battle with nearly two centuries of uncritical attribution, beginning with *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse; by Thomas Chatterton* (London, 1778), the first collection of non-Rowleyan writings.

An Elegy on the Much Lamented Death of William Beckford, Esq. (London, 1770) provides an eloquent case in point. This fourteen-page anonymous pamphlet has long been enshrined in the canon as the only separate, nonperiodical publication during the poet's lifetime. It was first issued as Chatterton's, some eight years after his death, in *Miscellanies*. Only twelve of the twenty-eight stanzas were printed, however, and these were taken not from the pamphlet but from the July 1770 *London Magazine*,[1] which had printed the extract as though it were a complete poem. Apparently John Broughton, the *Miscellanies* editor, did not know even by 1778 of the pamphlet publication.

Subsequent editors have printed either the extract or, beginning with the Cambridge edition,[2] the complete poem, but neither editions nor studies have so far noted that the poem is thoroughly uncharacteristic. It is far beneath Chatterton's usual elegizing level, and it is generically "patriotic" rather than specifically Chattertonian in tone, diction, and allusion.

Furthermore, though the poet was always quick to inform Bristol of all important and many unimportant publications during his few hectic months in London, the extant letters breathe no word of this elegy, and there is no evidence that he sent a copy of the pamphlet to Bristol.

[1] xxxix, 379; *Miscellanies*, p. 76.

[2] *The Poetical Works of Thomas Chatterton*, [ed. C. B. Willcox] (Cambridge, 1842) II, 581.

Though nothing could be more unlike Chatterton than complete silence about any such coup as his first separate publication, we have only one vague hint of evidence supporting the *Miscellanies* attribution. When Beckford, the Wilkesite Lord Mayor, died, Chatterton sent his Bristol friend Thomas Cary a copy of an unpublished political letter to Beckford and added this sardonic note:[3]

> Accepted by Bingly, Set for & thrown out of y^e^ N.
> Briton 21 June on acct of y^e^ L^d^ Ms death
> Lost by his death on this Essay 1-11-6
> Gaind in Elegies 2-2-0
> in Essays 3-3-0
> 5-5-0
> Am Glad he is dead by 3-13-6

So far, only this elegy and an essay on sculpture (to be dealt with later) have ever been connected with this Swiftian sally.[4] The gains of course, may have been part of the joke, or merely daydreams.

Did Broughton have other evidence, or was he mistaken in printing the elegy? How might he have made such a mistake? If it was a mistake, how much weight can be given to other *Miscellanies* attributions? Since the *Miscellanies* provide the core of non-Rowleyan works for all later editions, an editor must try to answer these questions.

The authenticity of the 1778 collection has never been investigated or even seriously questioned,[5] even though all forty-three attributions

[3] Extant only in a transcript by Michael Lort: *B1457*, fol. 304v, Bristol Public Library, to which I am indebted for photostats of this and the Lort transcript mentioned in footnote 6.

[4] E. H. W. Meyerstein very tentatively suggested another elegy for consideration—"The Lamentation of Liberty and Britannia," *Bingley's Journal*, 28 July 1770, in *A Life of Thomas Chatterton* (London and New York, 1930), p. 383.

[5] Joseph Cottle questioned *Miscellanies* vaguely and unconvincingly in his *Early Recollections* (London, 1837) II, 293n: "This opportunity is taken to do some justice to the memory of Chatterton, by separating his name from several articles which have been injuriously ascribed to him. The editors of the last edition of his works, placed too implicit a reliance on the accuracy of former editors, in adopting the whole of 'Chatterton's Miscellanies,' as genuine. A subsequent examination, however, with some fresh sources of information, has satisfied them that the 'Memoirs of a Sad Dog' (a low and worthless piece), which has too long reflected discredit on Chatterton's name, was *not* written by him. This remark applies to several of the other pieces." "Some fresh sources of information" and "several of the other pieces" are thoroughly evasive and irresponsible when we consider that Cottle himself and Robert Southey were the editors of the "last edition" mentioned—*The Works of Thomas Chatterton*, 3 vols. (London, 1803). Meyerstein suspects that Cottle's "fresh sources" are whitewashing (*Life*, p. 416n).

except the Beckford elegy were first published as anonymous or pseudonymous periodical pieces. We do know that Broughton was one of a group of young Bristol writers to which Chatterton and Thomas Cary also belonged. In his letter of 6 May 1770[6] Chatterton, through Cary, instructs Broughton and twelve other acquaintances to search the *Freeholder's Magazine* for his efforts. The assumption has been, apparently, that this association with Chatterton enabled Broughton to make such attributions with authority.

Broughton's preface gives no hint of how the collection was assembled. He says only that "... one who had a slight knowledge of him in his lifetime, but not enough to be acquainted with his merits, until too late ... hath employed a few leisure hours in collecting the following miscellany ..." (pp. xxii-xxiii). And, concerning its authenticity, he writes, "The following collection of pieces are liable to none of the objections which are made to the other [Tyrwhitt's 1777 edition of Rowley]. They are the genuine and acknowledged productions of Thomas Chatterton ..." (pp. ix-x). How acknowledged? When we are dealing with anonymous and pseudonymous periodical ephemerae, such vague statements carry little conviction.

We have, however, one clue as to how *Miscellanies* was compiled. The last item in the collection is an elegy on Chatterton by Cary. This suggests that Cary and possibly others in the writing group may have suggested pieces to Broughton. Certainly Broughton would have been foolish not to consult Cary, who had been Chatterton's most intimate friend.

If we assume Cary's participation, we can easily see how the Beckford elegy might have got into the *Miscellanies*. Chatterton's letter to Cary of 1 July 1770—preserved for us, as was the Beckford balance, in a Michael Lort transcript—may well have been sent to Cary with the balance note, since Beckford died 21 June. This letter mentions the *London Magazine* among other periodicals printing Chatterton's pieces. Remembering that Broughton printed not from the pamphlet, but from the twelve-stanza *London* text, and recalling the two guineas

[6] The letters of 6 May, 11 July, and 20 July 1770 are quoted from Herbert Croft's *Love and Madness* (London, 1780), pp. 170, 186, 187. The letter to Cary of 1 July 1770 is quoted from Michael Lort's transcript, *B11063*, p. 113, Bristol Public Library. Inferior texts of the first three letters can be found in all the collected editions.

"Gaind in Elegies," might we not reasonably suppose that Cary searched for elegies on Beckford in the *London Magazine* and the other periodicals mentioned, and that he found in the July *London* what seemed to be a complete twelve-stanza elegy?

But if this is how the Beckford elegy got into the collection, we must conclude that nothing is authenticated simply by its appearance in *Miscellanies:* each piece must be examined on its own merits. When such an examination is made, an interesting pattern emerges: all but one of the pieces appearing in the periodicals before Chatterton left Bristol are solidly authenticated by evidence other than the 1778 attribution—holographs, acknowledged signatures, close relationship to authentic poems, conclusive internal evidence. On the other hand, nearly half of the pieces appearing in the periodicals after Chatterton arrived in London cannot be authenticated except by the 1778 attribution. It would seem that Chatterton had specifically pointed out publications while he was in Bristol to his family and friends, but that for publications after he left Bristol, Broughton had to rely on guesses, perhaps guesses based on Chatterton's letters. When we consult these letters, we can account for nearly all of the later attributions, including those published after 24 Aug. 1770, the day of Chatterton's death.

To be more specific, twenty-three of the forty-three pieces were published before 24 April 1770, when Chatterton left for London. Of these, only the "Hunter of Oddities" sketch on Dick Slender[7] is unsupported by evidence other than the 1778 attribution, and we shall see that this sketch was probably suggested by one of the London letters. Two of the twenty pieces published after 24 April—the "Fragment of a Sermon by the Celebrated Rowlie" and "Memoirs of Sir William Canynge"[8]—were drawn from posthumous periodical publications, where they are specifically connected with Chatterton. One more, "Gorthmund," which appeared in the September 1770 *Town and Country* over the signature "D.B.,"[9] is so obviously another of Chatterton's many Ossianics published in that periodical under that signature that it took no guesswork to add it to the Bristol attributions.

[7] *Town and Country Magazine* II (Feb. 1770), 94; *Miscellanies*, p. 217.

[8] *Gentleman's Magazine* XLVII (Sept. 1777), 413, and *Town and Country* VI (Nov. 1755), 592, respectively; *Miscellanies*, pp. 112, 117.

[9] II, 486; *Miscellanies*, p. 45.

Of the remaining seventeen London and posthumous attributions, some are authentic, some doubtful, some almost certainly not Chatterton's. The presence in the *Miscellanies* of all seventeen can be accounted for either by the Beckford balance sent to Cary or by one or more of three brief passages from Chatterton's July 1770 letters to Bristol:

> I am Surprized that you took no notice of the Last London, in that & the Magazine Coming out tomorrow, are the only two Pieces I have the Vanity to Call Poetry.... (*To Thomas Cary, 1 July*)

> I had pieces last month in the following Magazines:
> Gospel Magazine,
> Town and Country, viz.
>
> Maria Friendless.
> False Step.
> Hunter of Oddities.
> To Miss Bush, &c.[10]
>
> Court and City. London. Political Register,
> &c. &c. (*To Mary Chatterton, 11 July*)

> Almost all the next Town and Country Magazine [July] is mine.
> (*To Mary Chatterton, 20 July*).

The Beckford balance would suggest not only the Beckford elegy, but also, with its entry of three guineas for essays, the essay "On the Origin, Nature, and Design of Sculpture." This piece concludes with an encomium on Beckford, and it accompanied, in the August *Town and Country*,[11] a highly professional engraving of a proposed statue of the Lord Mayor. The engraving itself was attributed to Chatterton merely because it was used as frontispiece for *Miscellanies*, so slavishly was the authority of that collection followed.[12]

The 1 July letter to Cary pointed, of course, to "Narva and Mored"

[10] II, 287, 317, 312 (misnumbered 315), 327, respectively; *Miscellanies*, pp. 162, 174, 225, 85.

[11] II, 417; *Miscellanies*, p. 142.

[12] A writer in the *Critical Review* LIII (June 1782), 422, says: ". . . he is the reputed author . . . of the sketch for Beckford's Statue, in the Town and Country Magazine; but we have good authority for asserting that *that* plate was designed and engraved by Mr. Isaac Taylor; and the article in explanation of it was *not* the work of Chatterton, though printed in his Miscellanies." Chatterton's own drawings are very childish.

and "The Death of Nicou," two of Chatterton's three African eclogues. They appeared in the May and June *London*, signed "C."[13]

The 11 July letter to his sister would seem to have been Broughton's most fruitful source for London and posthumous publications. In addition to the four pieces specifically named, it gives magazine and month for four others: the "Anecdote concerning Lord Jeffries" and the "Anecdote of Lord C———d," both from the June *Town and Country;*[14] "A Song. Addressed to Miss C—am of Bristol," from the June *Court and City;*[15] and "The Prophecy," in the June *Political Register.*[16] By claiming the June "Hunter of Oddities" sketch on a Mr. Ha—w—y, the letter suggested four others: the pre-London February sketch on Dick Slender already mentioned,[17] the May and July sketches on Dick Flighty and Eolus, and an August self-portrait inspired by the series and signed by its subject—"Tony Sellwood." All of these appeared in *Town and Country.*[18]

The 20 July letter is puzzling. In claiming all of the July *Town and Country,* it also suggests the Eolus sketch. But the only other piece in *Miscellanies* from the July number is the obviously autobiographical "Memoirs of a Sad Dog."[19] This piece is long enough to have filled most of the July *Town and Country,* which is probably what Chatterton expected. But it was printed in two installments instead, the second in the August number.

Finally, either Chatterton's frequent *Town and Country* publications, or his constant allusions to that magazine in his letters could have lead Broughton to "The Adventures of a Star" in the October and November numbers.[20]

We can account, then, for Broughton's inclusion of all twenty pieces published after Chatterton left Bristol, but there is still the question of their authenticity. There is enough evidence in addition to the 1778 attribution to give eleven of them to Chatterton beyond a doubt. The

[13] XXXIX, 268, 320; *Miscellanies,* pp. 56, 61.

[14] II, 311, 312; *Miscellanies,* pp. 138, 234.

[15] Vol. I; *Miscellanies,* p. 232.

[16] VI, 222; *Miscellanies,* p. 105.

[17] See footnote 7.

[18] II, 245, 343, 409; *Miscellanies,* pp. 214, 221, 207.

[19] II, 374, 431; *Miscellanies,* p. 184.

[20] II, 539, 572; *Miscellanies,* p. 149.

two Rowleyan pieces are authenticated by extant holographs. The conclusive support for the Ossianic "Gorthmund" and the autobiographical "Memoirs of a Sad Dog" has already been suggested. Four pieces, of course, were named in the 11 July letter, and the two African eclogues were specifically alluded to in the Cary letter. The song to Miss C—am of Bristol—signed "C." and bearing a London date line —is the only piece in the June *Court and City* that his 11 July letter would suggest.

But the remaining nine attributions have no solid evidential support. The essay on sculpture is no more characteristic than the Beckford elegy. Nothing links the Dick Flighty, Eolus, and Tony Sellwood oddity sketches with Chatterton except his claim of the June sketch and the fact that the Eolus sketch is dated from Warwick-court, Holborn, some four blocks from Chatterton's London lodgings at the time. Only the signatures of the two anecdotes suggest Chatterton: that on Jeffries is signed "C."; that on Chesterfield is signed "T.B."—probably, as Skeat suggested,[21] confused by Broughton with Chatterton's known signature "D.B." "The Prophecy" is not characteristic stylistically; furthermore, stanzas nine, ten, and eleven seem to have been written by a violent anti-Catholic—not Chatterton surely, and stanzas six and seven bewail the decline of commerce—a trend that could only have gladdened Chatterton's anti-bourgeois heart. Of the nine, "The Adventures of a Star" is most like Chatterton in style and subject matter, and even it has only general similarities to authentic pieces.

When we question the authenticity of these nine pieces and of the earlier Dick Slender sketch, we must extend our doubts to other pieces which followed them into the canon after 1778. Seven more sketches from the "Hunter of Oddities" series were included in Southey and Cottle's 1803 edition[22] on the unjustified assumption that Chatterton wrote the whole series. Of these seven, only the April, October, and November sketches (Mr. B——n, Tom Goose-quill, and Mr. T——) seem at all like Chatterton's work, and again the likeness is only a general similarity to acknowledged pieces.

After the 1803 edition, Meyerstein has been the heaviest contributor

[21] *Poetical Works of Thomas Chatterton* (London, 1871), I, 364.

[22] *Town and Country* II, 40, 152, 202, 413, 482, 535, 584; *Works* (1803), III, 195, 199, 203, 206, 211, 215, 218.

of attributions and suggestions, and he frequently argues from an internal or external connection with one of these doubtful 1778 attributions. For example, accepting the Beckford elegy as authentic and noticing that an earlier pamphlet poem, "The Auction," was advertised on the last leaf of that elegy, he advances a complex argument which would give "The Auction" to Chatterton.[23] If the Beckford elegy is not Chatterton's, however, then the first link in his argument has snapped.

The *Miscellanies* London and posthumous attributions would seem, then, to be valueless in themselves, and trusting them has led to further doubtful attributions. They are valueless because Broughton —or his possible collaborators—had very little feeling for Chatterton's non-Rowleyan style. If our reconstruction of how *Miscellanies* was assembled is sound, we can say that Broughton printed only two clearly authentic pieces that Chatterton had not already alluded to fairly specifically. These are the Ossianic "Gorthmund," one of an openly acknowledged series, and the obviously autobiographical "Memoirs of a Sad Dog"—both very easy guesses.

[23] *Life*, pp. 383-86.

Lavater's *Physiognomy:* A Checklist

By John Graham

WHEN Johann Caspar Lavater died in 1801, a leading British periodical, *The Scots Magazine* (LXIII, 79) quite rightly acknowledged that he had been, "for many years, one of the most famous men in Europe." Part of his fame rested on his capable and conscientious performance of duties as a pastor and a religious writer, roles which made him loved and respected by his fellow citizens of Zurich, who literally flocked about him in the streets. But his fame was based more firmly, albeit more questionably, on his *Essays on Physiognomy*. That this work was well-known on the continent and in England and America is common enough knowledge, but the full extent of its popularity and impact is yet to be measured.

The Gentleman's Magazine [LXXI (Feb. 1801), 124] could hardly have painted a stronger picture of the popular reaction to his work:

> In Switzerland, in Germany, in France, even in Britain, all the world became passionate admirers of the Physiognomical Science of Lavater. His books, published in the German language, were multiplied by many editions. In the enthusiasm with which they were studied and admired, they were thought as necessary in every family as even the Bible itself. A servant would, at one time, scarcely be hired till the descriptions and engravings of Lavater had been consulted, in *careful* comparison with the lines and features of the young man's or woman's countenance.

This account strikes one as a bit of sensational journalism, but thirty years later Charles Darwin found that the captain of H.M.S. "Beagle" was ready to demonstrate its accuracy.

> Afterwards, on becoming very intimate with [Robert] Fitz-Roy [*sic*], I heard that I had run a very narrow risk of being rejected on account of the shape of my nose! He was an ardent disciple of Lavater, and was convinced that he could judge of a man's character by the outline of his features, and he doubted whether any one with

> my nose could possess sufficient energy and determination for the voyage. [*Autobiography* (N. Y., 1950), p. 36.]

Still later in the century the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1853-60, eighth edition), which had reached its mature and responsible position in England, contained this statement of his *Physiognomy:*

> Its publication created everywhere a profound sensation. Admiration, contempt, resentment, and fear were cherished towards the author. The discoverer of the new science was everywhere flattered or pilloried; and in many places, where the study of human character from the face became an epidemic, the people went masked through the streets.

That these accounts are exaggerations or extremes is hardly to be denied, but they stand as indications of the intensity and distribution of the interest in this resurrection of a "science" that had so long an empirical history.

The publication history of the *Essays on Physiognomy* is most startling testimony of the revived and sustained interest in physiognomy. After its initial success in German (five publications in the 1770's, four in the 1780's), the French translation of the 1780's introduced it to a still wider audience. This edition was often reviewed in both the French and English periodicals and led to the two English editions in the 1780's (including the opulent Henry Hunter translation that sold for thirty guineas a set), until in the 1790's no fewer than twelve English versions were presented in five different translations.[1] The French peak came in the first decade of the nineteenth century, when eleven versions appeared. These figures, however, do not give the full picture: a number of the editions were multi-volumed affairs and were issued volume-by-volume, a year or more apart, each volume being treated as an entity and reviewed individually. The book was reprinted, abridged, summarized, pirated, parodied, imitated, and reviewed so often that it is difficult to imagine how a literate person of the time could have failed to have some general knowledge of the man and his theories. By 1810, there had been published sixteen German, fifteen French, two American, two Russian, one Dutch, one Italian, and no less than twenty

[1] The particular impact of the *Physiognomy* on England is presented in my article, "Lavater's *Physiognomy* in England," *Journal of the History of Ideas* XXII (1961), 561-72, from which this introduction is adapted with corrections.

English versions—a total of fifty-seven publications in fewer than forty years. The regular production of the work did not much slacken until about 1870—a full hundred years after the first edition—and the two Swiss editions in the 1940's swelled the total to no less than one hundred and sixty publications in all languages.

The following checklist of publications was compiled in part by personal examination of the items but to a considerable degree through information supplied by library catalogues, booksellers' catalogues, reviews contemporary with the publications, and notes by other investigators. As a result, it was impossible to be consistent or complete for all items.

BRITISH PUBLICATIONS

I. Samuel Shaw translation:
Physiognomy, or the corresponding analogy between the conformation of the features and the ruling passions of the mind.
a. London: H. D. Symonds, [before 1800; perhaps 1792]. 280 p. in-12.
b. "New and improved edition"
London: T. Tegg, 1827. 346 p. in-12.

II. Henry Hunter translation:
Essays on physiognomy designed to promote the knowledge and the love of mankind. By John Caspar Lavater. . . . Illustrated by more than eight hundred engravings accurately copied; and some duplicates added from the originals. Executed by, or under the inspection of, Thomas Holloway.
a. London: J. Murray [etc.], 1789-98. 3 v. in 5. in-4.
b. London: 1792-[1798]. "Third edition." 3 v. in 5. in-4.
c. London: 1797. 4 v. in-8. "First octavo."
d. London: "Stockdale," 1789-1810. (Inferior engravings) 5 v. in-4.
Addenda: an 1802 supplement was published. *Physiognomical sketches by Lavater: engraved from the original drawings. By John Luffman.*
[London]: Westley, 1802. folio.

III. C. Moore translation:
a. *The Conjuror's magazine or magical and physiognomical mirror. Including a superb edition of Lavater's Essay on physiognomy.* (Aug. 1791-July 1793) [*sic*]

b. *The Astrologer's magazine; and philosophical miscellany. . . . With a monthly portion of Lavater's Physiognomy.* (Aug. 1793-Jan. 1794)

c. *Essays on physiognomy, calculated to extend the knowledge and love of mankind. Written by the Rev. John Caspar Lavater. Translated from the last Paris edition by the Rev. C. Moore . . . illustrated by several hundred engravings, accurately copied from the originals.*

1. London: W. Locke, 1793. 20½ cm.
2. London: W. Locke, 1794. 3 v. 22 cm.
3. London: H. D. Symonds, 1797. 4 v. in-8.

IV. George Grenville translation:

The whole works on physiognomy; translated from the last Paris edition by George Grenville.

London: Butters, 1797. 4 v.

V. Thomas Holcroft translation:

a. *Essays on physiognomy; for the promotion of the knowledge and love of mankind; written in the German language by J. C. Lavater, and translated into English by Thomas Holcroft. Illustrated by three hundred and sixty engravings.*

London: G. G. J. & J. Robinson, 1789-93. 3 v. 23½ cm.

b. The same as above, but add: Second edition.

. . . *Illustrated by four hundred and eighteen engravings. . . . To which are added one hundred physiognomical rules, a posthumous work by Mr. Lavater, and memoirs of the life of the author, compiled principally from the life of Lavater, written by his son-in-law, G. Gessner.*

London: H. D. Symonds [etc.], 1804. 4 v. in-8.

c. *Essays on physiognomy . . . abridged from Mr. Holcroft's translation.*

1. London: Robinson, 1793. 275 p. in-12.
2. London: Vernor & Hood, 1806. 295 p. 17½ cm.
3. London: Vernor, 1808. in-12.
4. London: G. G. & J. Robinson, 1825. 288 p. in-12.

d. The following publications were the work of the London publisher of cheap books, William Tegg. [I was unable to verify the editions as declared on the title pages. The titles read as in "c" above.]

1. Third edition, 1840.
2. Twentieth [*sic*] edition; 1844. in-12.
3. Sixth edition, 1850.
4. Seventh edition, 1850.
5. Eighth edition, 1853.

6. Tenth edition, 1858.
7. Eleventh edition, 1860.
8. Twelfth edition, 1862.
9. Thirteenth edition, 1867.
10. Fourteenth edition, 1869.
11. Fifteenth edition, 1878.

These appear to be printings with no changes. They are identical with the London & New York: Ward, Lock, [n.d.] "seventeenth" and "eighteenth" editions, except for the publication data. Tegg also issued the following editions; it appears that he was carefully seeking a wide market, as is indicated by the various prices.

1. *Essays on physiognomy.*
   1827. in-8. 21*s.*
2. *Physiognomy. A new edition.*
   1869. in-8. 3*s* 6*d*; 12*s*. 287 p.
3. *Physiognomy. Abridged.*
   1876-77. 3*s*; 3*s* 6*d*.

VI. Various other editions:

a. *Lavater's Looking-glass, or essays on the face of animated nature from man to plants.*
London: Lavater, Sue & Co., 1800. in-8. [Actually published by Richardson.]

b. George Brewer. *The Juvenile Lavater; or, a familiar explanation of the passions of LeBrun, calculated for the instruction and entertainment of young persons; interspersed with moral and amusing tales, illustrating the benefit and happiness attendant on the good passions, and the misfortunes which ensue the bad, in the circumstances of life.*
London: Minerva Press, [1812?]
Blakey, *Minerva Press:* "There is also an engraved title-page, with the same imprint, reading: The juvenile Lavater; . . . interspersed with moral and amusing tales, illustrated with 19 plates. By George Brewer, . . . 1 vol. Price 3*s* 6*d*. Frontispiece, and eighteen other plates."

c. *Physiognomy; or the corresponding analogy between the conformation of the features and ruling passions of the mind.*
London: Cowie, Low, 1826.

d. *Essays . . . trans. by T. Holcroft.*
London: Blake, 1840. 507 p. in-8.

e. *Essays on physiognomy; designed to promote the knowledge and the love of mankind.*
London: 1855. "Fourth edition."

f. *How to read the face; or, physiognomy explained, according to the philosophy of Lavater.*
London: C. Goodman, 1860. 8 p. in-16.

g. *Physiognomy . . . being a complete epitome of the original work of J. C. Lavater. New edition. Illustrated.*
London: Newton, 1866. in-8.

h. *Essays on physiognomy, for the promotion of the knowledge and the love of mankind. . . .*
London: 1899. 3 v.

VII. In *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, & Instruction* III (1824), 66, a periodical issued from London, there is an article "Lavater, 'Physiognomy,' translated from the German by the late B. Thompson." I suspect this may be a review of John Henry [*sic*] Lavater's *Introduction to the Study of Anatomy of the Human Body for the Use of Artists; from the German* (London, 1824), in-8. [I have not located a copy of either the periodical or the book.]

FRENCH PUBLICATIONS

1. *Essai sur la physionomie, destiné a faire connoître l'homme et à le faire aimer, par Jean Caspar Lavater. . . .* [*Traduit de l'allemand par Mme. de la Fite, M. Caillard et M. H. Renfer.*]
   a. La Haye: 1781-1803. 4 v. in-4.
   b. Paris: second edition, 1806. 9 v. in-8.
2. J. M. Plane. *Physiologie, ou l'art de connaître les hommes sur leur physionomie. Ouvrage extrait de Lavater . . . avec des observations sur les traits de quelques personnages qui ont figuré dans révolution française.*
   a. Meudon: Demailly, 1797.
   b. 1802.
3. J.-J. Sue. *Essai sur la physiognomonie des corps vivant, considérés depuis l'homme jusqu'à la plante.*
   Paris: l'Auteur, An v, 1797. 295 p. in-8.
4. *Graduation de la tête de grenouille jusqu' au profile d'Appollon d'apres les idees du célèbre Lavater.*
   Paris: [17—]. Broadside.

5. Louis-Joseph-Marie Robert. *Essai sur la megalanthropogénésie, ou l'art de faire des enfants d'esprit, qui deviennent des grands hommes; suivi des traits physiognomoniques propres a les faire reconnaître, déscrits par Lavater, et du meilleur mode de generation . . . par Robert le jeune.*
   Paris: Debray [1801]. 240 p. in-12.
6. *Le Petit Lavater ou tablettes mysterieuses, almanach dans lequel on trouve le telescope de l'astroloque le symbole de la sagesse et de la justice, d'après les savants Égyptiens et le petit Lavater; fin du grand Lavater; ce qu'il a fait, ce qu'il a dit en mourant.* 1801.
7. *Règles physiognomiques, ou observations sur quelques traits caractéristiques, par Jean Caspard Lavater.*
   a. La Haye: J. Van Cleef, 1803. 92 p. in-4. ill.
   b. Paris: A. A. Renouard, 1803. 92 p. in-4. ill.
   c. Zürich: Ziegler & Sohne, 1803. in-4.
8. *Physionomie portative, d'après Lavater, les Pernety, et plusieurs autres célèbres physionomistes.*
   Paris: B. Pottier & F. Bertrand, 1806. 2 v. in-24.
9. *L'art de connaître les hommes par la physionomie, par Gaspard Lavater. Nouvelle edition, corrigée et disposée dan un ordre plus methodique, précédée d'une notice historique sur l'auteur; augmentée d'une exposition des recherches ou des opinions de la Chambre, de Porta, de Camper, de Gall, sur la physionomie, d'une histoire anatomique et physiologique de la face* [*avec des figures colorées; et d'un trés-grand nombre d'articles nouveaux sur les caractères des passions, des tempéramens et des maladies:*] *par M. Moreau* [*de la Sarthe*], *docteur en médecine. Avec 500 gravures exécutées sous l'inspection de M. Vincent, peintre, membre de l'Institut.*
   a. Paris: Prudhomme, 1805-09. 10 v. in-8.
   b. Paris: Prudhomme, 1805-09. 10 v. in-4.
   c. Paris: Depélafol, 1820. 10 v. in-8. 600 ill. 82 in color.
   d. Paris: Depélafol, 1835. 10 v. bound in 5.
10. *Le Lavater portatif, ou précis de l'art de connaître les hommes par les traits du visage.*
   a. Paris: Hocquart, 1808. Labeled second edition; first edition unknown. 48 p. in-16. ill.
   b. n.p.: 1815. in-8. ". . . 6e éd., augm. d'une notice sur la vie de Lavater."
   c. Bruxelles: 1822. Labeled seventh edition.
   d. Bruxelles, [etc.]: Wahlen, 1826. Labeled eighth edition. 77 p. 13½ cm. 32 col. ill.
11. *L'art de connaître les hommes sur leurs attitudes.*
   Paris: 1813. in-8.

12. *Le Lavater des dames, ou l'art de connoître les femmes sur leur physionomie.*
    a. Paris: Saintain, 1815. Labeled fifth edition; earlier editions unknown.
    b. Paris: 1826.
    c. Bruxelles: Wahlen, 1826. Labeled seventh edition; earlier editions unknown. 77 p. 30 pl. in-16.
13. *Les indiscretions de Lavater; étude inédite par ce professeur célèbre; lithographiée d'après le dessin original de Lavater, qui nous a été communiqué par M. Schwitzer.*
    Paris: Blaisot, [180-?]. [A satiric engraving, labeled "2 éd."]
14. N. J. Ottin. *Précis analytique du système de Lavater sur les signes physiognomiques.*
    a. Bruxelles: 1834. 444 p. in-8. 25 ill.
    b. Bruxelles: 1839. in-12. ill.
15. [Manuels Roret]. *Nouveau manuel du physionomiste et du phrénologiste ou caractères dévoilés par les signes extérieurs. Ouvrages posthume de Lavater et du professeur Chaussier, publié et mis au niveau de la science par MM. Chaussier fils et Morin.*
    Paris: Roret, 1838. 295 p. in-18.
    Goedeke: not by Lavater.
16. *Nouveau Lavater complet; ou reunion de tous les systems pour étudier et juger les hommes.*
    Paris: Terry, 1842. 2 v.
17. *La Physiognomonie, ou l'art de connaître les hommes d'après les traits de leur physionomie, leurs rapports avec les divers animaux, leurs penchans. . . . Traduction nouvelle par H. Bacharach; précédée d'une notice par F. Fertiault.*
    a. Paris: Librairie française et étrangère, 1841. 286 p. 27½ cm. 120 ill.
    b. *. . . précédée d'une notice par A. d'Albanes* [J. A. Havard].
    Paris: G. Havard, 1845. 320 p. in-4. 119 ill.
18. Bourdon. *La Physiognomonie et la phrénologie.*
    Paris: 1842.
19. *Physiognomie.*
    Zürich: 1846. 2 v.
20. Alexander David. *Le Petit Lavater français, ou l'art de connaître les hommes par la physionomie.*
    Paris: [1854]. in-16.
21. Victor Frederic Alexandre Ysabeau. *Lavater et Gall. Physionomie et phrénologie rendues intelligibles pour tout le monde. Ouvrage accompagne de 150 figures dans le texte.*
    a. Paris: [1862]. in-12.
    b. Paris: Garnier frères, 1909. 282 p. in-18. ill.

22. [Joséphin Péladan]. *L'art de choisir sa femme d'après la physionomie (physiognomonie) par le sar Péladan, avec 14 figures d'après les maîtres et de nombreuses têtes historiques.*
    a. Paris: P. Lamm, 1902. 274 p. in-18. ill.
    b. Paris: Éditions Nilsson, [s.d.]. xv, 240 p. in-8. ill.
23. Heinrich Meister. *Traité sur la physionomie suivi d'un eloge de Lavater comparé avec Didot.*
    n.p., n.d. in-12 (Listed in *Goedeke.*)

GERMAN PUBLICATIONS

1. ed. J. G. Zimmermann. *J. C. Lavater von der physiognomik.*
   Leipzig: bey Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1772. 2 vol. in one; 88 p. & 192 p. in-16 (large)
   Osler Cat. "L. in his preface to pt. 2 says that J. G. Zimmermann's publication (pt. 1 had already appeared in Feb., 1772 in his *Hannover Mag.*) was unauthorized and from a rough draft, and that both parts are merely a preliminary sketch. This first recension is without illustrations, is seldom mentioned, and has never been reprinted or translated. Much confusion has arisen from the fact that the Physiognomik appeared in four different authorized recensions, followed by the Physiognomical Rules."
2. *Vermischte schriften.*
   Winterthur: Steiner, [1774-81]. 2 v. in-8.
3. *J. C. Lavaters Physiognomische Fragmente, zur Beförderung der Menschenkenntniss und Menschenliebe. Verkürzt herausgegeben von J. M. Armbruster* [Lavater's secretary]. *Mit vielen Kupfern.*
   a. Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich, H. Steiner und Companie, 1775-78. in-4.
      Osler Cat. "The four volumes are here bound in seven, viz. i and ii together, and the full-page plates to each volume separately, thus: i, 68; ii, 107; iii, 104; iv, 64; 343 plates in all. . . . This is Lavater's second recension, virtually the first edition of the real work. . . ."
   b. Winterthur: H. Steiner, 1783-85. 4 v. in-8.
   c. Winterthur: H. Steiner, 1806. 1 v. plates in-4.
   d. Zürich: 1783. 1 v. in-8.
   e. Zürich: 1784. 1 v. in-8.
   f. Winterthur: H. Steiner, 1783- in-16.
4. *J. C. Lavaters sämtliche kleinere prosaische schriften von jahr 1763-83.*
   Winterthur: H. Steiner, 1784-85. 3 v. in-8.

5. *Vermischte physiognomische regeln. Manuscript für freunde mit einigen characterischen linien. Erstes hundert. Zum bessten der armen.*
   [Zurich] 1789. 20 x 13 cm. ill.
6. *Hand-bibliothek für freunde.*
   Zürich: 1790-93. 24 v. in-12.
   V. 1 (1793), pp. 217-248, "Vermischte physiognomische regeln."
7. *Vermischte physiognomische regeln, ein manuscript für freunde.*
   a. Leipzig: Jacobaer, 1802. in-8. (no ill.)
   b. Wien: Gerold, 1802. in-8.
8. *J. C. Lavaters nachgelassene schriften. Herausgegeben von G. Gessner.*
   Zürich: Orell, Füssli und Companie, 1801-02. 5 v. in-8.
   (Two versions of this? one illustrated, one not?)
9. *Kupfersammlung aus der Lavaterschen physiognomik.*
   Winterthur: 1806. 3 v. in-4.
10. *J. C. Lavaters physiognomik. Zur beförderung der menschenkenntniss und menschenliebe. Vervollständigte neue aufl. der verkürzt. herausgegebenen physiognomischen fragmente (im einverständnisse mit dem verleger).*
    a. Wien: J. P. Sollinger, 1829. 4 v. in 2. 23 cm. 119 pl.
    b. Berlin: Fincke, 1834. 23½ cm. pl. (Second edition)
11. *J. C. Lavaters sämmtliche werke.*
    Augsburg und Lindau: 1834-38. 5 v. (publication suspended). in-8.
12. *Ausgewählte schriften von J. K. Lavater, herausgegeben von J. K. Orelli.*
    a. Zürich: Schulthess, 1841-44. 8 v. in-16.
    b. Zürich: Schulthess, 1841-44. 4 v. in-4.
    c. Zürich: Schulthess, 1846.
    d. Zürich: Schulthess, 1859 (3rd edition). 4 v. in-8.
    e. Zürich: Schulthess, 1860.
13. *Studien für künstler, kunstfreunde, und physiognomiker.*
    a. Stuttgart: Fischhaber, 1853. la. in-4. 90 pl.
    b. 1853. la. in-4. 40 pl. (no text)
14. *Einblicke durch fenster thür und dach in das innerste des menschen. Eine quintessenz der beobachtungen und forschungen eines Lavater, Gall, Spurzheim, Roger, David, u.v.m. über physiognomonik. Zweite auflage.*
    Weimar: Voigt, 1866. 263 p. 17.5 cm.
15. *Physiognomische fragmente.*
    Leipzig und Winterthur, 1775, facsimile in 1908.
16. *Vermischte physiognomische regeln; ein manuscript für freunde.*
    [München: Hirth, 1922.] 39 p. 23½ cm.

17. *Ausgewählte werke: Lavater; Hrsg. von Ernst Staehelin.*
Zürich: Zwingli, [c. 1943.] 4 v. 18 cm. pl.
18. *Physiognomische fragmente. Ausgewählt und kommentiert von Friedrich Märker.*
[München]: Heimeran, [1948]. 223 p. 20 cm.

AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS

1. *Essays on physiognomy. Trans. T. Holcroft.*
Appleton, n.d. in-8. 400 eng.
2. *Essays on physiognomy. Trans. T. Holcroft. Abridg.*
Appleton, n.d. in-12. ill.
3. *Essays on physiognomy; for the promotion of the knowledge and the love of mankind; written in the German language. By J. C. Lavater, abridged from Mr. Holcroft's translation.* [Lavater contemplating a bust.]
Boston: William Spotswood & David West, 1794. 272 p. in-12 (17 cm.)
4. *The Pocket Lavater, or, the science of physiognomy. To which is added, an inquiry into the analogy existing between brute and human physiognomy, from the Italian of Porta. Embellished with forty-four copperplate heads.*
   a. Hartford, Con.: Andrus & Judd, 18—. 116 p. 14 cm. 35 pl.
   b. The same, 1832.
   c. New York: Robinson & Franklin, 1839. 116 p. in-24. 35 pl.
   d. Same as *a*, but ca. 1840.
   e. New York: Van Winkle & Wiley, 1817. 137 p. 13½ cm.
   f. New York: C. Wiley, 1818. 137 p. in-24. Colored frontis.
   g. New-Haven: Baldwin & Treadway, 1829. 144 p. 11½ cm. 35 pl. (3rd edition)
5. Brewer, George. *The Juvenile Lavater; or, a familiar explanation of the passions of Lebrun . . . for the instruction and entertainment of young persons.*
New York: R. M'Dermut & D. D. Arden, 1815.
6. *The Physiognomist's own book: an introduction to physiognomy; drawn from the writings of Lavater. With numerous engraved physiognomies.*
Philadelphia: James Kay, jun. & bro.
Pittsburg: C. H. Kay & Co., 1841. 9-96 p. 13 cm. ill.
7. Whitelock, Samuel West. *A Familiar view of the human temperaments for the promotion of the knowledge and love of mankind.*
Baltimore: Woods, 1834. 10 p. 5 ill.; 1 colored.
8. [Gurney, Cassius]. *How to read the face; or, physiognomy explained according to the philosophy of Lavater.*
New York: American News Co., 1883; pamphlet.

PUBLICATIONS IN OTHER LANGUAGES

1. *Over de physiognomie, door J. C. Lavater . . .* [*uit het hoogduitsch vertaald door J. W. Van Haar*].
   Amsterdam: J. Allart, 1781-84. 4 vol. in-16.
2. Plane, G. M. *Fisiologia, ovvero l'arte di conoscere gli uomini dalla loro fisonomia. Opera estratta da Lavater e da altri eccellenti autori, con varie osservazioni sulla figura di alcune persone che si sono, distinte nelle revoluzioni politiche del secolo de cimottavo. Trad. dal francese.*
   Milano: 1803. in-8.
3. *O Physionomista portalil, ou compendio da arte de conhecer os homens pelas feicões do rosto, por Lavater.*
   Paris: Pillet, 1838. 100 p. in-32.
   1838. 107 p. in-32.
   1840. 70 p. in-32.
   1854. 78 p. in-32.
4. Lavater e Gall. Fr. Guis. *Fisognomonia e frenologia rese intelligibili a tutti. Traduzione di A. Ysabeau.*
   Trieste: Coen, 1863. in-16.
5. Rontondo, Antonio. *La fisonomía, ó sea el arte de conocer á sus semejantes por las formas exteriores; extractado de las mejores obras de Lavater.*
   Madrid: Mellado, 1847. xiii, 15-182 p. 62 pl. in-24.
6. *Breve squardo della fisiognomonia, tradotto da G. Mussini.*
   Reggio: Emilia, t. Artigianelli, 1887. 24 p. in-8.
7. *Kurïoznoe i kratkoe iz" îasneniie lîûbopytstva dostoĭnykh nauk.* [Title transliterated from Russian]
   [Moscow, *trans.*], 1781. 188 p. ill. 18 cm.
8. *Noviêishīī polnyĭ i lîûbopytnyĭ sposob, kak uznavat' kazhdago chelovîêka svoĭstva.* [Title transliterated from Russian]
   [St. Petersburg, *trans.*], 1809. vi. 184 p. ill. 20 cm.
9. *Hokhmat ha-partsuf.* [Title transliterated from Hebrew] ed. & trans. by A. L. Bisko. [A translation of a part of the *Physiognomy.*]
   [Warsaw, *trans.*], 1888. 32 p. 21 cm.

William Bewley and *The Monthly Review:* A Problem of Attribution

By Roger Lonsdale

ACCORDING to Professor B. C. Nangle's *The Monthly Review, First Series 1749-1789: Indexes of Contributors and Articles* (Oxford, 1934), William Bewley (1726-83) was one of the most regular and productive of the anonymous contributors to this periodical from 1749, the year in which it was founded, until his death thirty-four years later. A shy and retiring surgeon and apothecary, Bewley spent most of his life in the village of Great Massingham in Norfolk. His articles for the *Monthly Review* usually dealt with medical books in which he was professionally interested and with scientific works, which his intense interest in electrical and other experiments enabled him to review. From Professor Nangle's *Indexes,* which were based on an interpretation of the cryptic attributions in the set of the periodical annotated by Ralph Griffiths, the editor, (now in the Bodleian Library), it appears that Bewley began writing for the *Monthly Review* within a few months of the appearance of the first number, and that only William Rose and Griffiths himself, who together founded the periodical in 1749, contributed more articles to its first series, which ended in 1789.

It is clear from evidence which has recently come to light, however, that Bewley can not have written approximately one-third of the articles which Professor Nangle attributes to him. The evidence is contained in a number of letters written by Bewley to Dr. Charles Burney, the historian of music, who had become one of the surgeon's closest friends during his residence in Norfolk between 1751 and 1760. After Burney's return to London, the two men maintained a steady correspondence on the musical, literary, and scientific interests which

they shared. With a few exceptions, however, only the Bewley letters (now in the possession of Mr. James M. Osborn of Yale, to whom I am indebted for permission to quote them) have survived.

Early in 1771, Dr. Burney was preparing for publication his *Present State of Music in France and Italy*, a journal of his musical travels on the continent in the preceding year. Anxious about the reception of his book, Burney evidently wished his friend Bewley to write the critique on it for the *Monthly Review*. Bewley, however, had misgivings about the idea of reviewing a book by a close friend, especially as he knew that Ralph Griffiths expected strict impartiality from the members of his staff. According to Professor Nangle, Bewley had been contributing to the *Monthly Review* since 1749, so that when he wrote to Burney on 24 April 1771 he had been on Griffiths' staff for almost twenty-two years. Various remarks in this letter indicate, however, that he must have become a reviewer much more recently. After some facetious remarks about the inevitability of Burney's book appearing for judgment from the *Monthly Review*, "at whose aweful tribunal every soul that liveth and writeth . . . must make his appearance and receive the reward of his works," Bewley continued in a more serious vein:

> You may be assured, my Dear Burney, that I have for some time past been looking forward to the subject of the preceding paragraph, and have long been communing with myself on some casuistical niceties, or scrupolosities, quite habitual to me *in the exercise of my new profession*, relating to it. [My italics.]

In spite of this uneasiness, Bewley decided to ask Griffiths for permission to review his friend's book, although he was clearly worried about the editor's possible reactions to the request:

> I shall find myself strongly incited to resent most highly, with conscious dignity, his entertaining any doubts of my impartiality; & at the same time I shall in my heart be obliged to commend his caution— *personally, & , till of late, perfectly, unknown to him, as I am.* [My italics.]

The italicized words make it clear that Bewley had only recently joined the *Monthly Review*. Bewley's next letter to Burney, dated 18 May 1771, contains further remarks on his connection with the periodical, remarks which could hardly have been made by a man who, if we are

to believe Professor Nangle, had been reviewing for Griffiths since the age of twenty-three. The forty-four year old Bewley had obviously discovered a convenient literary outlet for his scientific speculations comparatively late in life:

> Scribbler as I am by nature, I believe I never should have found my way fairly to the press, in any other road than my present, & should have continued a humble & *gentle* reader all my life, had not G[riffiths] stumbled upon me with Compositors, printers, printers' devils, & publishers, all standing ready, & sollicitous to usher me into the world, without any trouble, whenever I chose to make my appearance in it.

From these two letters it is clear that Bewley's reviewing was a "new profession," that he had never met Ralph Griffiths in person and that "till of late" they had been perfectly unknown to each other. Unfortunately, Bewley's letters to Burney contain no more precise information about his connection with the *Monthly Review* and whilst there can be no doubt that he could not have been reviewing for some twenty-two years when he made these remarks, the exact date at which he was "stumbled upon" by Griffiths is not revealed. Since his career as a reviewer was a "new profession" in 1771, we may conclude that he had joined Griffiths' staff in the late 1760's. At precisely this period, however, Bewley's letters to Burney are missing, for there is a gap in the extant correspondence which covers the years 1765 to 1768. Before this break, nevertheless, Bewley did not once mention the *Monthly Review* and it may safely be assumed that he was not yet contributing to it, especially since, when the correspondence resumes in 1769, we find him referring frequently and proudly to his reviews and on more than one occasion listing his recent articles for the benefit of his friend. The earliest review which Bewley acknowledged to Burney (in a letter in the Osborn Collection, dated 27 Sept. 1769) appeared in the Foreign Appendix to Volume 36 of the *Monthly Review* (pp. 553-63), published at the end of June 1767. This review is not, however, necessarily his first contribution, for it was only the earliest mentioned in what Bewley described as "a list of such of my critical labours as you have not read."

The new evidence available in Bewley's letters to Burney points un-

ambiguously to the fact that he made his first contribution to the *Monthly Review* at some date between 1765 and 1767. The clue to a more precise identification of his first review must be sought in the evidence which Professor Nangle took as the basis of his *Indexes:* in a re-examination and reinterpretation of the cryptic annotations in Ralph Griffiths's editorial set of the *Monthly Review*. Professor Nangle attributed to Bewley all reviews published between 1749 and 1783 which Griffiths had annotated with one of the variously augmented identifications, *B*, *B*——*y*, *B*—*w*—*y* or *B*——*l*—*y*. He justified this decision and explained Griffiths' system as follows:

> Bewley's contributions are signed simply *B* until other men with the same initial letter were added to the staff, after which time Griffiths at times adds other letters to his name. He remains, however, in possession of the letter *B* when it is used alone; the subjects reviewed are in themselves sufficient warrant for assigning all such articles to him, without calling into evidence the numerous occasions on which a review published in instalments is assigned in one instance to *B* and in another to *B*—*w*——*y* or some other expanded form. (p. 4)

In spite of the fact that Professor Nangle was equipped with no more definite information about Bewley's connection with the *Monthly Review* than that he had been known to have written for the periodical at some period in his life and that in 1767 he had contributed a review of Priestley's *History of Electricity*, his argument seems entirely plausible at first sight. Moreover, when the reviews which Bewley acknowledged to Burney after 1769 are checked in Griffiths's marked set, we find that they are annotated with precisely the identifications—*B*, *B*——*y*, *B*—*w*——*y* or (in one case) *B*——*l*—*y*—for which Professor Nangle argues. Apparently we are faced with two kinds of evidence which can not be reconciled: on the one hand, Bewley's letters, indicating that he joined the *Monthly Review* only in the late 1760's, and, on the other, Griffiths's annotations systematically identifying Bewley's contributions from 1749 onwards.

Griffiths's identifications can, however, be made to bear a different interpretation from Professor Nangle's, an interpretation which confirms the evidence of Bewley's letters that he contributed his first re-

view between 1765 and 1767. If Griffiths's annotations of all the reviews between 1749 and 1783 attributed to Bewley by Nangle are considered in chronological order, a definite pattern emerges. Its most striking feature is simply that no review attributed to Bewley by Professor Nangle is identified as *B——y* or *B—w——y* before December 1766. In other words, each of the more than 170 reviews between 1749 and 1766 which Professor Nangle attributes to Bewley is signed simply *B*. After the first appearance of *B—w——y* in December 1766, the expanded variants of the identification predominate: of approximately 500 reviews (many of which are only brief notices in the "Monthly Catalogue") which Nangle attributes to Bewley between 1767 and 1783, three-quarters are signed *B——y* or *B—w——y*.

Even if Bewley's letters had not indicated that he joined the *Monthly Review* between 1765 and 1767, this sudden overwhelming predominance of *B——y*'s and *B—w——y*'s would induce the suspicion that these expanded forms of identification signaled the arrival of a new reviewer on the staff and that the '*B*' who had been reviewing since 1749 was not William Bewley. There were two grounds, however, on which Professor Nangle, in the passage quoted above, argued for the invariable identification of *B* as Bewley between 1749 and 1783 and which must be examined before any modification of the attributions to Bewley is attempted.

The first was based on the "subjects reviewed" by '*B*' which, according to Professor Nangle, in themselves sufficiently prove the articles to have been written by Bewley. Certainly, as Professor Nangle implies, many of the books reviewed by '*B*' between 1749 and 1766 deal with medical and scientific subjects which fall within the modestly narrow scope of Bewley's more positively identifiable reviews after 1766. '*B*' was prepared, however, to tackle a great many more subjects than Bewley ever attempted. A short list of sample titles will suffice to show that an argument to the effect that the "subjects reviewed" by '*B*' are self-evidently Bewley's is somewhat precarious: Chariton's *Aphrodiensis. History of the amours of Cherée and Callirhoe* (a Greek text); *Commentarii de rebus pertinentibus ad . . . Cardinalem Quirinum; Defence of the Dutch; Four Odes; History of the Canary Islands; Letter . . . concerning the free British fisheries;* Mogen's *Essay on Insurance; Poetic Essays; Select pieces of English poetry, translated into French by M. Tro-*

chereau; Abbe Yart's *Idée de la poésie angloise.* In the 1760's, '*B*' showed a particular predilection for books about mathematical theory, navigation, and foreign languages.

Professor Nangle's second argument, that Griffiths assigned different instalments of the same review variously to *B* and to one of the expanded forms of identification such as *B—w——y*, is no more conclusive. Griffiths certainly followed this practice after 1766 and occasionally he even attributed complete reviews by Bewley to the simple *B*. On the other hand, no such example can, of course, be produced before 1766 in the seventeen years of unexpanded *B*'s. Indeed, all that can be found in this earlier period is that Griffiths was quite prepared to identify instalments of reviews by other members of his staff by the simple *B*, so that, according to Professor Nangle's argument, these other reviewers could equally be proved to have been the original '*B*'.

Thus, the two instalments of a review of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society for 1765*, which appeared in the *Monthly Review* in November and December 1766, were attributed respectively by Griffiths to *B* and *B——t*, the second identification referring to John Berkenhout. Adhering to his principle that Bewley had a monopoly over attributions to simple *B*, Professor Nangle was obliged to divide the review between Bewley and Berkenhout. This step, however, would appear to be unjustified. There is no indication that the two parts of the review are by different hands, and Berkenhout, who frequently reviewed medical and scientific books, had dealt with earlier volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions*. What may more properly be deduced from this example is that, at least in 1766, simple *B* denoted Berkenhout, but that in December 1766, the month in which the first attribution to *B—w——y* appeared, Griffiths felt it necessary to expand *B* to the less ambiguous *B——t*.

Griffiths's attributions in the following year, 1767, provide another example which undermines Professor Nangle's argument. Four instalments of a review of Sir James Steuart's *Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy* appear between April and August 1767, the first, second and fourth of which were attributed by Griffiths to *B——y* and the third to *B*. At first sight, and in spite of the unlikely subject of the book, it would appear necessary to agree with Professor Nangle's attribution of the review to Bewley. In October 1767, however, the re-

viewer defended his articles against objections from Steuart in the "Correspondence" section of the *Monthly Review*. Griffiths attributed this reply to *B—n——y*, who can be identified as Thomas Bentley. From this example it can be seen that *B* and even *B——y*, in 1767 at least, did not necessarily refer to William Bewley.

The evidence adduced so far can be summarized as follows. Bewley's letters indicate that he joined the *Monthly Review* between 1765 and 1767. Griffiths's attributions to *B—w——y* and, at a slightly later date, to *B——y* first appeared in December 1766 and predominate until Bewley's death in 1783. The subject matter of the reviews attributed to *B* between 1749 and 1766 does not self-evidently demonstrate them to have been written by Bewley, and it can be shown that Griffiths used simple *B* to refer, in instalments of reviews at least, to contributions by other writers than Bewley. One last underlying assumption in Professor Nangle's argument must, however, be considered.

Professor Nangle explains the expansion of simple *B* as an identification of Bewley to *B——y* or *B—w——y* as an attempt by Griffiths to avoid confusion at times when other reviewers with the same initial joined his staff. Is this explanation sufficient to account for the fact that, after identifying Bewley as *B* for seventeen years (as Professor Nangle believes), Griffiths suddenly began to identify him in three cases out of four by the expanded forms? Between 1749 and 1766 several reviewers, notably John Berkenhout, had joined the *Monthly Review* without causing any expansion of *B* to *B——y* or *B—w——y*. If *B* had served to identify Bewley for seventeen years under these circumstances, why bother to alter the identification for the following seventeen years? Admittedly, in support of Professor Nangle's case, is the fact that, in December 1766, the month in which the first contribution from *B—w——y* appeared in the *Monthly Review*, Thomas Bentley also wrote his first review, which was ascribed by Griffiths to *B—nt——y*. Yet if the purpose of expanding the identification of Bewley from *B* to *B—w——y* was merely to avoid confusion with Bentley, why did Griffiths continue to use simple *B* as an attribution throughout 1767 and 1768, when both Bewley and Bentley were contributing? The answer must be that *B* was not Bewley and that he was a third member of the staff who could be identified simply as *B* even after the arrival of

Bewley and Bentley. This conclusion can be confirmed by the subject matter of '*B*''s reviews in 1767 and 1768—French grammars, books on mathematical and navigational theory—and by the fact that, while Bewley in his letters to Burney acknowledges almost every review ascribed by Griffiths to *B——y* or *B—w——y* in 1767 and 1768, he does not admit to any of the reviews attributed to *B* in the same period.

The conclusions to be drawn from the preceding rather involved discussion can now be stated and a revised account both of William Bewley's career with the *Monthly Review* and of Ralph Griffiths' system of identification offered. The sudden appearance of the attributions to *B—w——y* in 1766 and 1767 was caused not by the fact that it had become necessary to distinguish Bewley (with, according to Professor Nangle, a seventeen-year-old monopoly of the identification *B*) from new reviewers, but by the exact opposite. It was necessary precisely because Bewley himself was a new reviewer on a staff which already included a writer with the same initial ('*B*') and because he arrived in the same month as Thomas Bentley. Bewley's first review appeared in the Foreign Appendix to Volume 35 of the *Monthly Review* in December 1766. This review, like the first instalments of the two reviews which Bewley contributed during 1767, was attributed by Griffiths to *B—w——y*. It was probably not yet clear to Griffiths that Bewley would become a regular and prolific contributor, for between April and August 1767 he used the identification *B——y* for Thomas Bentley (in the review of Steuart's *Inquiry* described above). Nevertheless, for later instalments of Bewley's two reviews in 1767 which were initially attributed to *B—w——y*, Griffiths used only the identification *B——y*.

Bentley did not contribute between 1767 and 1770, so from 1768 onwards Griffiths identified Bewley by the slightly reduced attribution *B——y*, which was to remain the usual formula for his reviews until his death in 1783. Until 1768, the '*B*' who had been on the staff when Bewley joined it continued to contribute but apparently left the periodical in that year. For more than a year after '*B*''s last review Bewley was steadily identified as *B——y*. In the Foreign Appendix to Volume 41 (pp. 503-21), however, a complete review by Bewley is for the first time identified by the simple *B*. The date of this review is December 1769, so that Bewley had been on the staff of the *Monthly Review*

for exactly three years before he was sufficiently established as the periodical's leading medical and scientific reviewer to be unambiguously identified in this manner. Nevertheless, between 1770 and 1783 three-quarters of Bewley's reviews are identified by the usual formula *B——y*. There was apparently no method in Griffiths's occasional use of the simple *B*, although it is noticeable that it occurs most frequently in later instalments of reviews initially signed *B——y*; in the Foreign Appendix, which had fewer contributors and where confusion was presumably less likely; and in the Monthly Catalogue of unimportant notices.

The result of this reinterpretation of Griffiths's attributions is that, whilst Professor Nangle's *Indexes* are correct in their identification of Bewley's reviews between 1770 and 1783, they are completely erroneous before 1766 and unreliable between 1766 and 1769, the period in which Bewley is equated with the mysterious '*B*' and, on one occasion, with Thomas Bentley. The following reviews in Professor Nangle's alphabetical index of books reviewed should not be attributed to Bewley:

13, 107, 123, 163, 242, 317, 361, 362, 444, 472, 485, 491, 740, 798, 799, 811, 814, 835, 872, 932a, 963, 999, 1047, 1084, 1125, 1173, 1178, 1222, 1243, 1244, 1271, 1283, 1284, 1351, 1413, 1422, 1490, 1498, 1500, 1501, 1502, 1528, 1568, 1581, 1583, 1608, 1684, 1730, 1731, 1801, 1809, 1817, 1941, 2007, 2025, 2044, 2065, 2136, 2137, 2192, 2193, 2214, 2258, 2267, 2311, 2318, 2326, 2334, 2349, 2350, 2353, 2404, 2406, 2409, 2447, 2471, 2628, 2695, 2696, 2702, 2747, 2748, 2752, 2762, 2796, 2798, 2849, 2859, 2929, 2949, 2974, 2981, 2982, 2997, 3040, 3075, 3273, 3331, 3380, 3460, 3465, 3495, 3520, 3521, 3522, 3565, 3581, 3662, 3674, 3678, 3698, 3701, 3759, 3763, 3814, 3834, 3835, 3876, 3935, 4018, 4021, 4065, 4073, 4074, 4084, 4108, 4287, 4337, 4358, 4364, 4417, 4422, 4519, 4527, 4528, 4614, 4655, 4665, 5015, 5031, 5037, 5043, 5047, 5050, 5057, 5060, 5062, 5066, 5073, 5084, 5090, 5091, 5147, 5171, 5172, 5173, 5177, 5191, 5192, 5219, 5220

The first review under 2829, *Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Surgery at Paris*, is not by Bewley.

Bewley did not contribute a review to 3269, *Philosophical Transactions*

of the Royal Society, until Volume 42; or to 1541, Foreign Literature, until Volume 35.

The identification of the '*B*' who contributed these reviews between 1749 and 1768 is outside the scope of the present article. It may be observed, however, that if *B* was merely an alternative identification for a reviewer already known to have been on Griffiths' staff, the most likely candidate is John Berkenhout (1731?-91), whose interests ranged from natural history, medicine, chemistry, and botany to classical and modern languages and literature, and who was apparently at least once, as demonstrated above, identified by Griffiths as *B* in 1766. Although it must appear unlikely that Berkenhout, at the age of eighteen, could have contributed to the *Monthly Review* as early as 1749, *B* may well have been used to identify more than one member of Griffiths' staff in the following seventeen years. Berkenhout was certainly contributing by 1755 and it may tentatively be suggested that, at least during the 1760's, *B* and *B*——*t* were alternative identifications of his reviews. An argument based on the "subjects reviewed" by *B* in this period could more safely attribute them to Berkenhout than to Bewley. It is worth noting that Professor Nangle dates Berkenhout's last review in December 1767 and that '*B*' continued to contribute for only a few months after this date.

Authentic Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman: The History of a Pamphlet*

By George N. Belknap

FATHER Brouillet's *Authentic Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman* (Portland, 1869) is a primary source for the facts concerning the slaughter of the Protestant missionaries at Waiilatpu, Oregon Territory, by the Cayuse Indians in November 1847, and is one of the rarest of early Oregon imprints. It is well known that a first edition of the pamphlet, written in 1848, was published in New York City in 1853, with the title, *Protestantism in Oregon,* and that two reprints of the first edition appeared in Federal government documents in 1858. But the full history of these editions, a highly plotted drama of unrelenting vengeful pursuit of the Rev. Jean-Baptiste Abraham Brouillet, vicar general of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Walla Walla, by the Rev. Henry Harmon Spalding, Protestant missionary colleague of Dr. Marcus Whitman, has not yet been told.

Spalding first met Brouillet on Friday, 26 Nov. 1847, when he was a dinner guest of the Rev. A. M. A. Blanchet, bishop of the new diocese, and his priests at Fort Walla Walla, a Hudson's Bay Company post. Spalding had been a missionary to the Nez Perce Indians at Lapwai, about 115 miles east of Walla Walla, for eleven years; Brouillet had arrived at the fort early in October 1847 and was to leave on 27 Nov. to take charge of a mission on the Umatilla River. Although Spalding and Whitman were unhappy and worried about the arrival of the priests, the personal relations between the Protestant

* The author is deeply indebted to Professor Clifford M. Drury, San Francisco Theological Seminary, the Rev. W. Schoenberg, S.J., Jesuit Archives of the Province of Oregon, and the Rev. Cornelius M. Power, chancellor of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Seattle, for generous help in the checking of sources; he is also indebted to the University of Oregon Office of Scientific and Scholarly Research for financial assistance.

and Catholic missionaries were not unfriendly. Whitman was at the Umatilla mission briefly on Sunday, 28 Nov., and urged Brouillet to visit him at Waiilatpu, only twenty-five miles away. Spalding again dined with the priests on Monday, 29 Nov. On Tuesday Brouillet set out for Waiilatpu, while Spalding remained for a day with the Indians on the Umatilla.

On his way Brouillet learned of the Whitman Massacre on the afternoon of 29 Nov., and, after pausing to baptize some dying Indian children, went on to the mission, where he assisted in the burial of the Whitmans and other victims of the massacre. Then, knowing that Spalding planned to return to Waiilatpu on Wednesday and was in grave danger, he hurried back to warn him, at considerable personal risk. Spalding and Brouillet met three miles from the mission. With provisions provided by the priest, Spalding succeeded in reaching Lapwai and temporary safety. On 7 Dec. he rejoined his family on a farm near Lapwai. On 10 Dec. he sent letters to Bishop Blanchet and to William McBean, chief factor at Fort Walla Walla, pleading for peace and urging that they use their influence to prevent the Americans from coming to avenge the murders. On 30 Nov. McBean had dispatched a report of the massacre to Hudson's Bay Company headquarters at Fort Vancouver; on 19 Dec., Peter Skene Ogden arrived at Fort Walla Walla to arrange for the ransom and evacuation of the survivors. The captives reached the fort on 29 Dec., and Spalding and the Lapwai Mission party on 1 Jan. The next day they left in boats for the Willamette Valley, under the protection of the Hudson's Bay Company.[1]

It might be expected that, after these crowded and tragic days, Spalding and Brouillet would have become lasting and tolerant friends.[2] But the result was, instead, lifelong bitterness and sectarian controversy. Spalding wrote many accounts of the Whitman Massacre; and it became fixed in his mind that Brouillet and the other priests were, somehow, responsible for the murders. The first of his narra-

[1] The foregoing chronology is principally from Brouillet's very precise narrative in *Authentic Account*, pp. 45 ff., which is confirmed, in all essential respects, by Protestant versions. See bibliography, at end of this article, No. 5.

[2] In his 10 Dec. letter to Bishop Blanchet, whom he addressed as "Reverend and Dear Friend," Spalding acknowledged his debt to "my dear friend" Brouillet. For the text of this letter, see William I. Marshall, *Acquisition of Oregon* (Seattle, 1911), II, 217-19.

tives, in a letter of 8 Jan. 1848 to the Rev. David Greene, secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, contained only mild criticism of Brouillet—for baptizing the children of the murderers.[3] His dark suspicions seem to have been aroused by the publication of his 10 Dec. letter in the 20 Jan. 1848 issue of the *Oregon Spectator*. Spalding was embarrassed. The letters were hard to reconcile with the fact that, once safe in the Willamette Valley, he had pledged $500 of American Board funds for the support of the punitive expedition organized by the American settlers.[4] His defense, in a letter of 8 Feb., which the *Spectator* refused to publish, was an attack on the motives of Blanchet in allowing the publication of the letter to the bishop, and the rather weak argument that he had thought that Blanchet and McBean would have understood, in his plea for peace, the suppressed words, "until we are rescued."

The *Spectator* would not print the 8 Feb. defense because of the policy of its proprietors, the Oregon Printing Association, to avoid sectarian controversy. The letter was, however, published early in June, in the first issue of the *Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist*, edited by Spalding's friend, the Rev. L. S. Griffin, and printed with the equipment which had been used at Lapwai for the printing of religious texts in the Nez Perce language. In this letter the priests are charged with nothing worse than a deliberate attempt to embarrass Spalding. The baptism of the children is mentioned, in stronger words than in the letter to Greene; Brouillet's hands are now stained with the blood of the martyrs, but still only by association, as he receives the bodies of the dying infants from the bloody hands of their parents.

In the next issue of the *Oregon American*, dated 21 June 1848, Spalding began his second narrative of the massacre. Here, for the first time, the accusations against the Catholics become explicit, but in the devious form of a recitation of rumors. The form is strictly rhetorical; the rumors were Spalding's own creation.

> . . . There is universal suspicion strengthened by every days silence fastening down upon Catholicism through the part some of its adherents are said to have acted, directly or indirectly in the bloody

[3] Quoted by Marshall II, 200-03, from the manuscript in the American Board archives.

[4] Letter of 24 Jan. 1848, Spalding to Greene; Marshall II, 207.

> Tragedy. It is said that Catholics took part in the murders and in the distribution of the plundered goods. . . . It is said that they actually placed the seal of their bloody approbation upon the bloody deed, by baptizing the children of the murderers . . . [p. 24].

The articles continued through the seventh issue, dated 1 Mar. (*i.e.*, Sept.) 1848, always promising but never providing evidence for the accusations. With this issue, publication of the *Oregon American* was suspended because of the departure of Griffin's printer for California. In a final delayed issue, dated 27 May 1849, Griffin charged that Catholics had enticed his printer to the gold fields to prevent the publication of Spalding's evidence. There is an abundance of insinuations from the editor's pen, but nothing at all to substantiate the accusations. If the termination of Spalding's articles was in fact contrived by the Catholics, this was a service. He had no evidence—and one more article would have made this obvious.

Spalding's attacks were not given much credence in Oregon at the time. The Rev. Elkanah Walker, American Board missionary in the Spokane country, was skeptical. Peter Burnett, respected Oregon pioneer of 1843 and later the first governor of California, challenged Spalding to a "written correspondence" concerning the causes of the massacre and demanded that he present his evidence. Spalding sidestepped such a confrontation by insisting that the issue be broadened to encompass the merits of Protestant and Catholic theology and that prior assurance be secured for the publication of the correspondence in the *Spectator*. As Burnett pointed out, a theological debate would not only befuddle the simple issue of the charge of murder against the Catholic priests but would prevent publication in the *Spectator*, as Spalding well knew.[5]

Brouillet wrote his reply in 1848, but delayed its publication until 1853, when it appeared in a series of articles in the *New-York Freeman's Journal*, a Catholic periodical, entitled "Protestantism in Oregon. Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman, and the ungrateful calumnies of H. H. Spalding, Protestant Missionary." The first installment, in the

[5] Walker is quoted in Marshall II, 240. For the Spalding-Burnett exchange, see *Oregon American*, 5 July 1848, pp. 33-40; 16 Aug. 1848, pp. 81-87. Burnett issued his challenge in April, apparently on the basis of rumors Spalding was spreading before the *American* provided an organ of publication.

26 Feb. issue, has an introductory paragraph signed Ed. N.Y.F.J.[6] In June 1853 the articles were reprinted from the same type in a pamphlet with the same title, issued by M. J. Cozans, New York Catholic bookseller.[7] In the pamphlet the paragraph introducing the articles is replaced by a brief Preface signed J. A. McM. (J. A. McMaster, editor and proprietor of the *Freeman*). The publication delay was probably due to the fact that (with many Oregonians, including the *Oregon American* and *Spectator* printers) Brouillet departed for California in the fall of 1848; except for a brief visit, he did not return to Oregon until the fall of 1850.

Spalding's rumors, with added touches of fantasy for which he cannot be held directly responsible, pursued Brouillet to California. In June 1850, a San Francisco newspaper reprinted an item from the Sacramento *Transcript* reporting that nine of the murderers, "including two Catholic priests," had been delivered up to Oregon authorities, that they had been tried by the Legislative Assembly, "and our informant thinks that, ere this, they have been convicted and put to death." Brouillet was driven to protest, in a letter to the editor of the San Francisco *Weekly Pacific News*, published in the issue on 15 July 1850. Five Indians had been tried, convicted, and executed, but

> During the whole proceedings not one of the priests was molested nor disturbed. Not a single word was said of them on the trial. The Indians themselves, under sentence of death, aware of the prejudices entertained by some persons against the Catholic Clergy, declared that they had never heard from any one of them anything that could have induced them to injure in any way Dr. Whitman or others.

The letter concludes with praise of the people of Oregon for their liberality and tolerance:

> . . . in spite of the numerous writings published in 1848 by a certain

[6] Bibliography, no. 1. Ed. N.Y.F.J.: "Falsehood flies on the wings of the wind, raises an excitement, and enjoys its mischief for the hour, while truth plods along slowly, arrives when all the commotion has subsided, and brushes away whatever traces falsehood may have left behind in honest minds . . . as the last echo has died away of the outcry raised here in the Spring of 1848 about Popish priests having excited the Indians in Oregon to murder the Protestant missionaries, and to break up their establishments, it seems about time to write, in brief, another chapter of Protestant missionary doings. For this purpose we now give the public for the first time the following interesting and conscientious narrative."

[7] Bibliography, no. 2.

> gentleman of Oregon, . . . I am happy to say that the authorities and all the respectable portion of the population of Oregon do the Catholic Clergymen justice, and in all circumstances, show their confidence in them and treat them with respect and courtesy.

In California Brouillet was busily engaged in raising funds among the miners for Oregon missions and became so involved in the affairs of the northern California church that a rumor arose that he was to be the next bishop of San Francisco. By the time he finally returned, he had been transferred with his bishop to the new Diocese of Nesqually with headquarters in Vancouver, Washington Territory, where a heavy load of pastoral and administrative duties demanded his full attention.[8] Once the heat of controversy had cooled and public attention had turned to the new excitement of California gold, he apparently felt no pressing need to hurry into print. Both the introductory paragraph to the *Freeman* series and the Preface to *Protestantism in Oregon* reflect a leisurely and "historical" perspective: "Although the immediate occasion has passed away, it is proper, still, to put the *facts of the case* on record. . . ."

Brouillet's pamphlet analyzes Spalding's points systematically and refutes them with a minimum of passion—considering the fact that he is defending himself against a charge of mass murder—but with effective documentation of the "ungrateful calumnies" of the subtitle. For many years, it provided a reply to anti-Catholic attacks. Spalding may never have seen a copy; during the 1850's, at any rate, his copious capacity for detecting plots and persecution turned to brooding over the frustrations of his brief term as Indian agent for Oregon in 1850-51, and his energies to his ambition to return to the Lapwai Mission.[9]

[8] Sister Marian Josephine, "Abbe Jean-Baptiste Abraham Brouillet, First Vicar General of the Diocese of Seattle," unpublished thesis, Seattle University, 1950, Chapter II, *passim*.

[9] Clifford M. Drury, *Henry Harmon Spalding* (Caxton, Idaho, 1936), pp. 362-67. Spalding letters quoted by Drury show that he accepted the appointment as Indian agent primarily as a maneuver to get back to the upper Columbia country and Lapwai. But Dr. Anson Dart, Oregon superintendent of Indian affairs, on the advice of influential citizens, held him in western Oregon—clear evidence of a Catholic plot. Spalding kept what Drury calls the "Dart affair" alive at least until 1857, repeating and elaborating charges that provoked President Fillmore in 1852 to issue a public denial and Asahel Bush in 1855 to characterize Spalding as "a lunatic upon the subject of Catholicism, and not 'over and above' sane upon any subject." Salem *Oregon Statesman*, 11 Aug. 1855. Bush was editor of the *Statesman* and a dominant power in Oregon territorial politics.

Spalding's wild accusations of Catholic responsibility for the Whitman Massacre had been published in a short-lived periodical with small circulation, and had had a generally cold reception in Oregon. Brouillet had allowed his reply to remain in manuscript for five years before it was published in a New York periodical that, in Oregon, was probably read by only a few Catholic priests. The pamphlet reprint doubtless had a wider circulation but still principally in Catholic circles.[10] The circumstances were ideal for the quiet termination of an unfortunate and fruitless controversy, simply through lack of communication among the partisans. But a confidential agent of the United States Treasury was destined to become the innocent agent for its revival, twenty years after the Whitman Massacre.

J. Ross Browne, who had been engaged since 1852 in the inspection of customs houses for the Treatury Department, had first visited Oregon in 1854 as a Treasury agent.[11] In 1857 his services were loaned to the Commissioner for Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior for an investigation of the operation and finances of Indian reservations in Oregon and Washington territories. He inspected reservations in western Washington and Oregon in August and September, and submitted a report from San Francisco on 17 Nov. 1857. The report was published in January 1858 as House Executive Document No. 39, 35th Congress, 1st Session, with the title, "Indian Affairs in the Territories of Oregon and Washington."

In the course of his observations and inquiries concerning the generally unhappy record of the reservation system, Browne had become fascinated with another problem, beyond the scope of his instructions, the causes of the Oregon and Washington Indian War of 1855-56. On his own initiative, he submitted a second report incorporating his

[10] Spalding mentions the 1853 pamphlet in lectures published in 1865, but all his references are to an 1858 reprint (see p. 326, below). The first Oregon Protestant writer who used the 1853 edition seems to be William H. Gray, in his *History of Oregon* (1870); see p. 336, below. It is also, perhaps, significant that no Oregon library has a copy of the 1853 edition, though several Oregon libraries have been searching the attics of pioneer Protestant families for many years. The 1853 printing was probably small, and primarily for private circulation. Cozans regularly advertised his stock of new Catholic books in the *Freeman's Journal*, but *Protestantism in Oregon* was never listed.

[11] House Ex. Doc. No. 39, 35th Congress, 1st Session, p. 2. Browne was a writer of some minor importance in the history of American literature; see Van Wyck Brooks, *The Times of Melville and Whitman* (New York, 1947), pp. 99 f., 293.

thoughts on this question. The supplementary report, dated 4 Dec. 1857, was also published, in January 1858 as House Executive Document No. 38 and in March 1858 as Senate Executive Document No. 40. In this report Browne argued that the war was "a war of destiny," an inevitable episode in the march of civilization, in which a superior race must override the interests of an inferior race. The charges by General John E. Wool of the regular Army that the cause of the war was "speculation" by the settlers (looking to compensation of the volunteer militia for unprovoked slaughter of Indians) were, he maintained, untrue and irrelevant. He was convinced that the Indians had been encouraged in their resistance by the Mormons—but, presumably, this was equally irrelevant to the real cause of the inevitable conflict.

Browne's rather slight 12-page essay on the causes of the Indian war would have remained just another buried government document —except for the fact that, while in Oregon, he came across a copy of Brouillet's pamphlet and sent it to Washington with his report. When House Executive Document No. 38 and Senate Executive Document No. 40 were printed, *Protestantism in Oregon* was appended,[12] filling a disproportionate 52 pages to document two paragraphs in Browne's report:

> In 1835 missionary establishments were formed west of the Rocky mountains. The French, through their connexion with the Hudson's Bay Company, established Catholic missions, and the Americans Protestant missions, between which jealousies and bickerings soon sprang up. Misrepresentations were, no doubt, made on both sides, and the result was, that bitter hostilities were engendered between the cliques attached to each persuasion. In the autumn of 1847 Dr. Marcus Whitman and his family were murdered by the Indians. Mr. Spalding, another missionary, charges that it was done with the knowledge and connivance of the Catholic missionaries. I send enclosed the reply of Father Brouillet, which professes to refute this charge. A perusal of the pamphlet will abundantly show the bitterness

[12] See bibliography, nos. 3-4. Marshall states (11, 18) that "Mr. Browne always claimed that it was not his intention to have Father Brouillet's pamphlet published as a part of his report, but that he merely enclosed it with his report for the information of Hon. J. W. Denver, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to whom his report was made." Also appended to Browne's report, pp. 64-66, is a translation of a letter, dated Apr. 1853, from Father Pandory of the Atahnam Mission to Father Mesplie at The Dalles concerning ominous unrest among the Indians.

> of feeling existing between the different sects, and its evil effects upon the Indians. It will readily be seen that, as little dependence can be placed upon the statements made by one side as by the other, and that, instead of christianizing the Indians, these different sects were engaged in quarrels among each other, thereby showing a very bad example to the races with whom they chose to reside.
>
> The fact also is shown, that as far back as 1835 the Indians west of the Rocky mountains protested against the taking away of their lands by the white races; that this was one of the alleged causes of the murder of Dr. Whitman and family.[13]

As the second paragraph points out, Brouillet's pamphlet provides some evidence on the basic issue of Indian lands. But the bickering of the missionaries, however regrettable, was surely as irrelevant, in Browne's view, as settlers' "speculation" and Mormon intrigues. His final judgment of the sectarian controversy was a plague on both their houses—a balanced judgment that is clearly unfair to Brouillet.

Until the mid-1860's the two "editions" of *Protestantism in Oregon* with the imprint of the United States government attracted no more attention than Cozans' edition of 1853. Spalding appears to have been unaware of their existence. In the summer of 1859 he moved from the Willamette Valley to the still-isolated upper Columbia country as a settler, and took a claim on the Touchet River near the claim of his son-in-law, A. J. Warren, where he remained for three years, yearning for Lapwai. Late in 1862 his ambition was fulfilled, and he was back at the mission, now an Indian agency, as interpreter and teacher—but not for long. He quarreled constantly with agents and other officials; in the summer or fall of 1865 he was dismissed and returned to the Willamette Valley. Again he saw the long arm of Rome at work—James O'Neil, the agent who dismissed him, was a Catholic.[14]

Even before he left Lapwai, Spalding began a series of articles and lectures on the history of the Oregon Protestant missions, to which

[13] House Ex. Doc. No. 38, p. 3.

[14] Drury, pp. 370-82. Spalding's move to the upper Columbia country had been followed quickly, in Sept. 1859, by a resolution by the Congregational Association of Oregon, urging that the superintendent of Indian affairs appoint him "to be teacher of the Nez Perces, as they desire, . . . and we recommend Bro. Spaulding to accept the appointment if made, leaving all other business to devote himself wholly to this work." *Minutes of the Congregational Association of Oregon . . . 1859*, p. 7.

he was to devote much of his attention for the next three years. The central theme was the real Whitman tragedy, embroidered by the legend, which Spalding himself created, that Whitman saved Oregon from the British; the sequel was the story of his own frustrations and failures, which could be raised to the level of the Whitman story only on the premise of continued priestly diabolism.[15]

Spalding's first articles, which appeared in *The Pacific,* San Francisco, between May and November 1865, show that he had by now read Brouillet's pamphlet in J. Ross Browne's edition (specifically, House Document No. 38—he apparently remained unaware of the Senate printing). The 25 May issue contains an oblique reference to Browne, "The late slanders of the character of my lamented wife by one of your blood-stained fanatics, high in office . . ."—which must have puzzled readers of *The Pacific* until the slanderer was identified in the second installment in the issue of 1 June:

> Vicar-General Brouillette [*sic*], in his pamphlet, says the butchery of Dr. W. and his fellow sufferers was "commenced against us, not as Missionaries, but as Americans," with the intent of exterminating them from the Pacific coast. . . . J. Ross Browne says that massacre was the commencement of Indian wars, that continued for years; but says in substance that Mrs. Spalding and Mrs. Whitman were the cause, and that in crossing the Rocky Mountains . . . "did more hurt than good.". . . And upon your head, Mr. Browne, and heads of your bloody compeers, will rest the unnecessarily assumed guilt of that awful crime. The spirit with which you spoke of that bloody tragedy and the falsehoods you sent to Washington concerning it, and the spirit with which it has been referred to in Washington by men high in office, shows that, although not personally concerned, yet all heartily approve of it and would rejoice to see every man and woman who should attempt to civilize the Indians, suffer the same fate. . . .

There is one more reference to Browne in the series, in the issue of 16 Nov.: "Buchanan's special agent, J. Ross Browne, says Dr. Whitman and his associates 'did more hurt than good.'"

[15] William H. Gray, who had been associated with the American Board missions in Oregon from 1836 to 1842, commented on the lectures in a 26 Nov. 1866 letter to Spalding: "*We must do justice to Dr. Whitman and the dead, let others do justice to us*—when we are no more . . . personal matters and complaints will not be listened to by friend or foe." Drury, p. 386.

A second series of lectures, covering much the same ground, appeared in the Walla Walla *Statesman* between 9 Feb. and 6 April 1866. Brouillet is again castigated; but there is only one direct mention of Browne, in the 9 Mar. issue, reflecting what the readers of the *Statesman* must have considered a note of approval: "J. Ross Browne says, and probably with truth, [that the massacre] involved the country in a twelve-years' war. . . ." Having completed the publication of Spalding's series, the *Statesman* in its next issue, 13 April, reprinted Brouillet's narrative of the massacre from *Protestantism in Oregon*, pp. 45-57, with this explanation: "By special request, we give place to the following version of the Whitman massacre, as given by Rev. Father Brouillet, an eye witness to the concluding scenes of that terrible tragedy." The "special request" was probably a letter to the editor from Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet:

> Mr. Editor, Having done an act of uncommon liberality by publishing in your Journal the libellous production of Mr. H. H. Spaulding, entitled: "The Whitman Massacre," which is but a repetition of what he originated eighteen years ago, you will have no objection, I expect, to publish, at your earliest convenience, an "Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman and ungrateful calumnies of H. H. Spalding, by Rev. J. B. A. Brouillet, V. G." a copy of which will be presented by Rev. Father Halde. By complying with this request, you will perfom an act of justice towards several respectable citizens, enlighten the public and oblige the undersigned.[16]

Brouillet was not in a position to speak for himself; from 1864 to 1867 he was in the national capital representing his diocese in connection with problems related to missions and mission land claims.[17]

A third series of Spalding lectures was published in the Albany, Oregon, *States Rights Democrat* between 17 Nov. 1866 and 18 Jan. 1868. By November 1867 the editor was becoming restive, and insisted

[16] From a copy in a letter book in the Seattle Archdiocese Archives. The letter-book copy is, however, dated 16 Apr. 1866; this may be a clerk's error in transcription, or Father Halde may have anticipated Bishop Blanchet's request. The *Statesman* had already published, in its 16 Mar. 1866 issue, a long letter from McBean, protesting and correcting Spalding's account of the Hudson's Bay Company's treatment of Mr. Hill and the Osborne family, refugees from Waiilatpu; McBean had settled in the Walla Walla country after the departure of the company; his letter is reprinted in Marshall II, 233-36.

[17] Sister Marian Josephine, pp. 70-76.

that the series be brought "to a close speedily. If you do not I shall be under the disagreeable necessity of cutting them off myself."[18] These articles are largely a reprint of the Walla Walla *Statesman* series; the only mention of J. Ross Browne repeats that quoted from the *Statesman*.

For his lectures and articles, Spalding depended, for the early period, principally on his own recollections, supported here and there by published journals of travelers and by government documents. For his account of the Whitman Massacre and its aftermath, he used documents published in the *Oregon Spectator* and, in addition, a number of depositions from survivors which he had collected in 1848.[19] While he was delivering and publishing his lectures, William H. Gray was beginning the serial publication of his *History of Oregon* in the columns of the Astoria, Oregon, *Marine Gazette*. Gray and Spalding exchanged views, information, and documents,[20] including, as part of Spalding's contribution, copies of his depositions. Gray's enterprise was halted, temporarily, when the *Marine Gazette* ceased publication in September 1866,[21] after carrying the narrative to 1843.

It was probably not until late in 1868 that Spalding realized that, properly exploited, House Document No. 38 might be used to force the publication of his reply to Brouillet for a national audience, at the expense of the Federal government, and perhaps his return once more to Lapwai. How he exploited the opportunity can be traced through the chaotic pages of Senate Executive Document No. 37, 41st Congress, 3d Session, 1871, entitled "The Early Labors of the Missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Oregon, Commencing in 1836, and Other Documents Pertaining to the Same"—the culmination of his efforts. The document includes much confused and ill-digested information on the early labors of the missionaries and some outright fabrications—intermingled, in at least equal bulk, with all the letters, newspaper items, memorials, and reso-

[18] Drury, pp. 386-87.

[19] Walla Walla *Statesman*, 9 Mar. 1866: "These depositions and facts were collected immediately after the massacre, but the way to bring them before the public has never appeared open until now."

[20] Drury, p. 386.

[21] George S. Turnbull, *History of Oregon Newspapers* (Portland, Ore., 1939), p. 302.

lutions that Spalding collected to urge upon Congress the publication of his rebuttal of Brouillet-Browne. Most of this material is dated, and from it we can follow the organization and progress of his "campaign." The first step was a public meeting and the appointment of a committee:

> Immediately on the appearance of said Executive Document No. 38, of the Thirty-fifth Congress, though long after its publication, a committee was appointed at a public meeting in Linn County, Oregon, to investigate said document, with power to send for documents and to collect testimony; they immediately addressed a circular of questions to many old Oregonians, officers, civil and military, and to the surviving captives and sufferers of the Whitman massacre and the Indian wars that followed. A great amount of valuable testimony has thus been collected, completely refuting the charges made in said document under the strange heading, "Protestantism in Oregon," against the early pioneers of Oregon.[22]

No dates are given for this meeting or for the replies to the questionnaire, which are interspersed casually through the rest of the 81-page document. On hasty reading the quoted statement might seem to imply an investigation in 1859 or 1860; but closer reading reveals the ambiguity of "Immediately on the appearance" and "long after its publication"—covering with some subtlety the circumstance that the wrong that must be righted had remained unnoticed for nearly ten years.

The first dated document that Spalding collected to support his demand for justice was a letter of 22 Mar. 1869 from Gustavus Hines, "missionary and presiding elder, Methodist Episcopal Church":

> . . . according to the best of my knowledge, the extracts from congressional documents, as taken by the Rev. H. H. Spalding, involving the character of Dr. Marcus Whitman and wife, Mr. Spalding and wife, as well as others, are wholly and totally false. And I furthermore state that the missionaries referred to, instead of deserving the foul censures of the great American Congress, have been the greatest benefactors of the nation upon the Pacific coast.[23]

[22] Senate Ex. Doc. No. 37, p. 15.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

The letter is of interest in two respects: it suggests, what was undoubtedly the case, that the individuals, periodicals, and church groups that supported Spalding based their judgment of Brouillet-Browne on a selection of passages which he prepared, not on a reading of House Document No. 38 as a whole; and it assumes, as do several of Spalding's documents, innocently or maliciously, that Document No. 38 was an act of Congress.

Between May and October 1869 Spalding obtained quotable resolutions from state and local Protestant groups in Oregon, including Cumberland, Old School, and United Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, Christians, and Baptists.[24] He addressed the meetings of the Oregon Congregational Association in Salem in June and the Oregon Methodist Conference in Eugene in August, at which committees on Document No. 38 were appointed and resolutions drafted and approved,[25] and was probably present at meetings of other church groups. Echoing phrases, sentences, and paragraphs and uniformity of misinformation indicate that he at least provided a model for most of the resolutions. He also alerted the press, and collected quotations from the Salem *American Unionist* (26 June 1869), *The Pacific* (22 July 1869), the Denton, Ohio, *Telescope* (Jan. 1870), the New York *Evangelist* (6 Jan. 1870), and the Sacramento *Union* (July 1870).[26]

In all this Spalding-inspired literature, nothing worse could be said about Brouillet than had been said twenty years earlier in the *Oregon American and Evangelical Unionist*. The strategic center of attack was J. Ross Browne, who was responsible for House Document No. 38. In 1865 Browne had been charged with nothing more than guilt by association. By 1869, however, this unorthodox Protestant[27] had become, in Spalding's creative imagination, a scheming Jesuit

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 50-51, 53-54, 56-57, 62-63, 67-70, 71-78.

[25] *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Congregational Association of Oregon . . . 1869*, pp. 4, 8-9; *Minutes of the Oregon Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church . . . 1869*, pp. 7, 8, 18. According to a reference on p. 18 of the Methodist *Minutes*, the text of the conference resolution should be found in a later section headed "Reports"; but this one report is missing from the section.

[26] Senate Ex. Doc. No. 37, pp. 43, 51, 52.

[27] Letter of Mrs. Spencer C. Browne, whose husband was a grandson of J. Ross Browne, to Horace Parker, collector and editor of Browne's works, 18 Sept. 1960: "J. Ross Browne was a Protestant but . . . quite unorthodox. He seldom attended church and when he did was apt to be critical of the preacher, the sermon and the congregation."

agent engaged in a deep Romish plot.[28] Just what the object of the plot was is never clear—unless it was to prevent Spalding's return to Lapwai. The return to Lapwai was urged by the resolutions, as an end second only to the righting of the wrong of House Document No. 38—and was probably first in Spalding's plans. Some of the resolutions dwelt also on a third grievance, the extinguishment of the Lapwai Mission land claim on the ground that the claim had been abandoned when Spalding fled to the Willamette Valley after the massacre.[29] Although no longer connected with the American Board, Spalding may have had hopes for some equity in the claim, if it could be reinstated.

Most of the resolutions from Protestant churches provided only manuscripts for Spalding's collection. But the resolution of the Congressional Association was published in the minutes of its 1869 meeting, and came to Bouillet's attention,[30] and he learned of other fruits of Spalding's industry through newspaper items and editorials. In the past, when something was needed to answer anti-Catholic tales of the Whitman Massacre, copies of Cozans' 1853 edition of *Protestantism in Oregon* had been available. Now the pamphlet was out of print, and House Document No. 38 with Browne's "preface" ("as little dependence can be placed upon the statements made by one side as by the other") would scarcely serve as a substitute.[31] So Brouillet quickly

[28] ". . . Browne being himself a member of the order of Jesuits, took advantage of his position in the service of the Government to advance the interest of his Church at the expense of the memory of the dead." Senate Ex. Doc. No. 37, p. 64; see also pp. 66, 73.

[29] Senate Ex. Doc. No. 37, pp. 56-57, 58-59, 70, 79. Edward G. Bourne believed that Spalding's anger over the refusal of the government to reinstate the Lapwai land claim, while claims of the Hudson's Bay Company were recognized, was the primary stimulus for his lectures and for Document No. 37, and that he pressed to get the document published primarily for use in renewed efforts for recovery of the mission lands. "The Legend of Marcus Whitman," *Essays in Historical Criticism* (New York, 1901), pp. 26-27, 30, note 1. The Hudson's Bay Company claims were, however, not settled until 10 Sept. 1869, nearly two years after the publication of the last of Spalding's lectures and at least six months after he had begun work on Document No. 37. In the document itself, considerably more attention is given to Spalding's own personal grievance, his removal from Lapwai, than to the land claim.

[30] Brouillet probably saw the Congregational resolution in the 16 July 1869 issue of the Portland *Oregonian*, where it was reprinted by request (see note 34, below).

[31] If the print orders imagined by Spalding and his supporters could be believed, plenty of copies of Document No. 38 should still have been available. A resolution of the Christian Church states that 75,000 copies were printed (Senate Ex. Doc. No. 37, 41st Congress, 3d Session, p. 50); by 1871 Spalding had reduced the figure to 65,000 (Drury, p. 358, note 19).

set to work preparing a second edition, which was published in August 1869 by S. J. McCormick, Portland bookseller, with the title: *Authentic Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman and Other Missionaries, by the Cayuse Indians of Oregon, in 1847, and the Causes which Led to that Horrible Catastrophe.*[32] In this edition he made some revisions of the text of the 1853 printing, omitted McMaster's Preface, and added an Introduction and an Appendix. The principal revisions are the following:

(1) Confusions in organization are remedied. *Protestantism in Oregon* had a Part I (pp. 5 ff.) but no Part II, and two chapters numbered Chapter II (pp. 10 ff., pp. 40 ff.); in *Authentic Account* the Part I heading is omitted, the first Chapter II is divided into two (II presenting documents in support of Brouillet's case, III reviewing this evidence), the second Chapter II of *Protestantism* becomes Chapter IV, and Chapter III becomes Chapter V.

(2) In chapter headings and introductory paragraphs, scholastic formality is replaced by more colloquial English. Chapter I of *Protestantism* begins: "I say that remote causes of the evil existed long before the arrival of the Bishop and his clergy, and I prove it by the following circumstances and statements" (p. 5); Chapter I of *Authentic Account:* "That events had occurred prior to the arrival of Bishop Blanchet and the other Catholic missionaries at Walla Walla in 1848 [*sic*], which ultimately led to the unfortunate tragedy at Dr. Whitman's station will appear evident to any unprejudiced reader who calmly considers the following facts" (p. 20).

(3) The last sentence of a footnote describing Spalding's "ridiculous" Protestant ladder, "It is rumored that the picture is the work of Mrs. Spalding," is deleted (*Protestantism*, p. 71; *Authentic Account*, p. 66)—perhaps reflecting sensitiveness to Spalding's indignation over Brouillet's supposed slander of the mission heroines.

(4) A page and a half in *Protestantism* (pp. 89-91) in defense of Joseph Stanfield, a Catholic French-Canadian whose conduct at the scene of the massacre had been attacked by Spalding, is omitted from *Authentic Account*.

The new Appendix (pp. 93-108) includes extracts from Gustavus Hines' *History of Oregon* and a 9 Dec. 1847 letter of Sir James Douglas,

[32] See bibliography, no. 5.

chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company, concerning the Whitman Massacre; both documents relate the massacre to long-standing suspicions and grievances of the Cayuse Indians.[33] The new Introduction points out the significance of these documents, and explains the circumstances that persuaded Brouillet to reprint his pamphlet:

> The first edition of this pamphlet, written in 1848 and issued in 1853, has become exhausted; some of the principal witnesses of the Indian massacre at Dr. Whitman's station have left the country; many of them are dead—a new community has sprung up in the land. Still there are found those amongst us whose prejudices, even at this remote day, are so strong as not to yield before the penetrating rays of truth; whose minds will not be satisfied with the unchangeable and irrefutable evidence of disinterested witnesses, and whose spleen against the Catholic church, and all that pertains to her creed, her pastors and her people, finds vent in the shape of "resolutions" without reason, paragraphs without point, and anonymous newspaper articles without responsibility.
>
> It being not only impracticable, but distasteful, to the author to undertake the task of replying to the open or covert attacks thus made upon questions of veracity long since settled, he has included in the present work all the evidence relative to the massacre of Dr. Whitman . . . published in his former pamphlet, together with an appendix . . . [pp. 3-4].

A footnote on "'resolutions' without reason" refers to "resolutions adopted by Congregational Association of Oregon, July, 1869."[34] Brouillet was probably first introduced to his "fellow Jesuit" and "bloody compeer," J. Ross Browne, through the Congregational resolution or through the anonymous newspaper articles to which he refers; but he is silent about Browne and his role in the controversy. Through the Congregational resolution he would also have learned that Spalding, who had tried, in 1848, to fan the flames of bigotry in Oregon, was still at work in 1869; this would, however, have been no

[33] There are several editions of Hines' book, with as many titles. It is commonly cited as *History of Oregon*, though this title never appears. The first edition was published in Buffalo, N. Y. in 1850. Douglas' letter had been published and attacked in the *Oregon American*, 2 Aug. 1848, pp. 75-77; 16 Aug. 1848, pp. 87-93.

[34] Actually 18 June 1869. The error supports the suggestion that Brouillet saw the resolution in the 16 July 1869 issue of the *Oregonian* (see note 30, above).

surprise, since he must have heard from Blanchet about Spalding's 1866 articles in the Walla Walla *Statesman*.

Brouillet may have hoped that *Authentic Account* would finally quiet these fantastic charges. But the pamphlet had been off the press only a few months when William H. Gray published his *History of Oregon*, with seven chapters on the Whitman Massacre repeating and elaborating suspicions borrowed from Spalding's 1848 *Oregon American* articles and 1865-68 lectures.[35] The chapters are largely a montage of quotations from Brouillet and from Spalding's depositions. The Brouillet quotations are from the 1853 edition of *Protestantism in Oregon*, though Gray meticulously gives also page references to J. Ross Browne's report. He mentions Brouillet's "second edition of his false and absurd production," but only to assert that Brouillet there refers to Browne's report "as additional official evidence of the truth of his false statements"[36]—though there is no mention of Browne in *Authentic Account*.

Spalding may not have appreciated Gray's anticipation of his own plans to reach a national audience with his charges. He would certainly not have cared for the characterization of his 10 Dec. 1847 letter to Blanchet as "wild, incoherent—not to say injudicious and foolish."[37] At any rate, Gray's book, which is equally libelous but much less confused, is nowhere mentioned in Spalding's collection, where few chances of corroboration are overlooked.

In October 1870, ignoring Gray's *History* and ignoring or ignorant of the publication of *Authentic Account*, Spalding gathered up his documents and prepared to travel east to present his case to Congress. But there was an opportunity for one more resolution to crown his efforts, from the Oregon Legislative Assembly then in session in Salem—and possibly a convenient preliminary printing of his documents with the official endorsement of the state of Oregon. It was an unfortunate idea.

Senate Joint Memorial No. 5, introduced on 12 Oct. by Mr. Crawford, senator from Spalding's home county, Linn, is rather mild, with emphasis on the services of Dr. Whitman to his country and on

[35] *A History of Oregon, 1796-1849, Drawn from Personal Observations and Authentic Information* (Portland, San Francisco, New York, 1870), Chapters LIV-LX.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 459.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 504.

the un-American activities of the Hudson's Bay Company—and with no direct mention of priests or Rome. Document No. 38, the memorial suggests, was probably published by mistake. Nonetheless, a wrong has been done, and Congress is requested "to publish in a like executive document, our reply herewith transmitted." "Our reply" was Spalding's collection, which accompanied the memorial.[38] The memorial and its accompanying document were referred to a special committee, which the next day recommended approval of the memorial and the printing of 800 copies of the document. The Senate was in an antic mood. Mr. Trevitt moved, as an amendment, "That eight hundred copies of the New Testament be also printed. Which amendment was lost." Mr. Mosher moved as a substitute, "That the state purchase eight hundred copies of Gray's 'History of Oregon.'" Mr. Fay moved "To amend by adding 'that the state also purchase eight hundred copies of Rev. Mr. Spalding's Lectures on the Early History of Oregon.'" The Senate having had its fun, the memorial was disposed of through indefinite postponement.[39]

Spalding apparently rose above such democratic crudities; but his daughter, Amelia Brown, wrote her stepmother on 25 Oct., urging that her father be persuaded not to go east: ". . . for I know how it will hurt him to be treated as he was in Salem."[40] However, Spalding left Portland the next day by boat for San Francisco, where he boarded a train for the East Coast.[41] Along the way he collected additional ma-

[38] *Journal of the Senate Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Oregon . . . 1870*, pp. 373-78.

[39] *Ibid.*, pp. 381-84.

[40] Manuscript in Oregon Historical Society Library.

[41] The Portland *Oregonian* reported his departure in its 26 Oct. issue: "Among the passengers who go East to-day, we notice the name of Rev. H. H. Spalding of the Presbyterian Church. . . . Mr. Spalding returns to the Eastern States with the best wishes of his numerous friends on this coast. He goes with abundant documents to meet the allegations published in 'Ex. Doc. No. 38 of the 35th Congress,' which reflect severely on the character of the martyr, Doctor Whitman." The item includes a generous quotation from one of Spalding's documents, a Presbyterian memorial on "his early and successful labors" and, an unmistakable sign of a Spalding publicity release, lists Mrs. Spalding among the Waiilatpu martyrs (see note 47, below). It should not be assumed that the publication of this item reflected the *Oregonian's* editorial agreement with Spalding's views. In a review of Gray's *History of Oregon* only a few months earlier (1 Apr. 1870), Harvey Scott, the *Oregonian's* pontifical editor, had taken Gray severely to task for his repetition of Spalding's charges of Catholic responsibility for the Whitman Massacre; throughout his editorial regime, Scott consistently labeled the Whitman-saved-Oregon story a myth.

terial: interviews published in the Chicago *Advance* (1 Dec.) and the Elmira, New York, *Herald* (5 Dec.), a resolution from the Steuben, New York, Presbytery, in which he had been baptized in 1825, and letters from William E. Dodge, New York businessman (29 Dec.), Jay Cooke, concurring in Dodge's sentiment (5 Jan. 1871), and Z. B. Banister of Newburyport, Massachusetts (6 Jan.).[42]

Amelia need not have been worried. Spalding's descent on Washington was a triumph. In Chicago, New York, Boston, and Philadelphia he was recognized as a living historical monument. In Oregon his story was old and perhaps a bit boring; in the East it was new and romantic. Prominent men recommended him to political leaders in the capital, and his documents moved smoothly through channels. On 25 Jan. he was heard by a sympathetic Senate committee. On 28 Jan. his documents were transmitted to the Secretary of the Interior under cover of a letter from A. B. Meacham, Oregon superintendent of Indian affairs. On 2 Feb. the Senate passed a resolution calling for information in regard to the early labors of missionaries of the American Board in Oregon. On 6 Feb. the Commissioner of Indian Affairs informed the Secretary of the Interior officially that the desired information would no doubt be found in the documents furnished by Spalding through Meacham. On 8 Feb. the Secretary transmitted the documents to the Senate. And on 9 Feb. the Senate, by unanimous vote, ordered them printed. "Spalding was supremely happy . . . 'Every Senator seemed my friend.'"[43] Senator Corbett of Oregon went with him to see the manuscripts safe in the printer's hands and arranged for him to read the proofs.

But Spalding's satisfaction was short-lived. He was soon pressing for a second printing by the House of Representatives, and complaining that "they steadily refuse to do it."[44] In May 1871, on his way home, he attended the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Chicago, where he lobbied successfully for a resolution calling for

[42] Senate Ex. Doc. No. 37, pp. 8-12, 43-45, 78-80.

[43] Drury, p. 393. But "a distinguished senator" is quoted in the *Catholic World*, XIV (1872), 666: "No one, except the few in the secret, knew anything of the matter until the document was printed. All the previous proceedings were as of course."

[44] Drury, p. 393.

a House edition of Senate Document No. 37.[45] There was no response from the House. But a second printing of 2,500 copies was finally issued many years later, in 1903, by order of the Senate.[46]

Spalding's collection is perhaps the oddest document ever issued as an official publication of the United States government. In the words of Edward G. Bourne, "no adequate idea of the hodge-podge can be gained by any description. One must believe it unique in all the vast mass which has issued from the Government Printing Office." William I. Marshall, after citing some of its oddities, concludes:

> It is surprising that the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists, in their anxiety to combat the controversial statements of Father Brouillet's pamphlet . . . should have accepted this mass of rubbish that Spalding's bigoted and crazy brain had thrown together, and it is equally surprising that the Senate ever allowed this ridiculous collection of fabrications, exaggerations and flat-footed contradictions of some of the best known facts in our national history to appear as a Senate document.[47]

The reaction of Document No. 37 came close to repeating the comic sequel of J. Ross Browne's Document No. 38, with Columbus Delano, the Secretary of the Interior, playing Browne's role. There was widespread Catholic indignation; and Delano, whose signature was, by bureaucratic routine, attached to the final letter of transmittal that sent Spalding's collection to the Senate, was the center of attack in the

[45] *Ibid.*, pp. 395-97.

[46] The 1903 reprint carries the 1871 serial identification, but has a new title-page with the imprint—Washington: Government Printing Office. 1903. The Senate order for the reprint is recorded on the verso of the title-page.

[47] Bourne, *Essays in Historical Criticism*, p. 30; Marshall II, 172. There is a quality of pathos in one of the oddities of the document that Marshall, in his indignation, was unable to recognize. In all of Spalding's accounts of the Oregon missions, the apotheosis of womanhood in the martyrdom of Narcissa Whitman was a constant theme; and always her name was linked with that of Eliza Spalding, who had shared all her hardships and sufferings except the last. This last link is forged in Senate Document No. 37, when Mrs. Spalding, who died peacefully in her bed in the Willamette Valley on 7 Jan. 1851, is added to the list of the martyrs of Waiilatpu. Senate Ex. Doc. No. 37, 41st Congress, 3d Session, p. 42; repeated in a resolution of the Christian Church of Oregon, p. 54; see Marshall II, 170, 203, 279. The martyrdom of Eliza Spalding is also claimed in Oregon State Senate Joint Memorial No. 5 (*Senate Journal, 1870*, p. 377), and in the *Oregonian*, 26 Oct. 1870 (see note 41, above).

Catholic press. The significant difference is the fact that Brouillet, in a letter to the editor of the Baltimore *Catholic Mirror,* defended Delano against these charges.[48]

An analysis of Spalding's document, anticipating the conclusions of later critical examinations of his charges against the Catholics, appeared anonymously in the February 1872 issue of the *Catholic World.*[49] For its narrative and its refutation of Spalding, the article depends principally on *Authentic Account;* and the author is also indebted to Brouillet for two addenda to his pamphlet: (1) a letter to Brouillet from R. T. Lockwood, 29 Sept. 1871, reporting a conversation with Mrs. Foster, a survivor of the massacre (pp. 677-78); and (2) a new account, by Brouillet, of the affair of Miss Bewley, who had been appropriated after the massacre by Five Crows, a Cayuse chief and Protestant convert, of whom Spalding and Whitman had been very proud (p. 681). The deposition which Spalding had obtained from Miss Bewley, in the tradition of Indian captivities with the added spice of Catholic priests serving as procurers, was undoubtedly the most sensational document in his collection.[50] Brouillet, needless to say, presents the affair in a quite different light.

The *Catholic Sentinel,* organ of the Archdiocese of Oregon, reprinted the *Catholic World* article in four issues between 9 and 30 Mar. 1872, and, in five installments between 13 July and 10 Aug. 1872, published a second anonymous "Reply to Executive Document No. 37." This was Brouillet's own answer, as the Rev. F. N. Blanchet, Archbishop of Oregon and brother of Bishop A. M. A. Blanchet, revealed in 1878.[51]

[48] From Washington, D. C., 3 June 1873. Peter J. Rahill, *The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy 1870-1884* (Washington, 1953), pp. 56-57. From 1873 until his death on 5 Feb. 1884, Brouillet was employed in the national capital as a representative of the Oregon hierarchy on problems of missions and on the staff of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. Sister Marian Josephine, Chapter v.

[49] "Several Calumnies Refuted; or, Executive Document No. 37," *Catholic World* XIV (1872), 665-82.

[50] Document No. 37, pp. 34-37. Gray provides an additional touch of fantasy: "Miss Bewley's being forced to become his [Five Crows'] wife was a part of the scheme to involve him in the war then in contemplation . . . and was one of the most important measures to implicate that humane and Protestant Indian in the war measure now in discussion before this grand Indian council at the house of the bishop." *History of Oregon,* p. 506.

[51] *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon. 1838-1878,* "Sketch XXX," reprinted in C. B. Bagley, *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon* (Seattle, Wash., 1932), I, 140; first published in the *Catholic Sentinel,* 5 Sept. 1878. Edward G. Bourne was "inclined to think" that Brouillet was the author of the *Catholic World* article, though he was

Internal evidence of Brouillet's authorship is also conclusive; *e.g.*, his account of Miss Bewley, quoted in the *Catholic World* article, is incorporated verbatim in the text. "Reply" is a devastating dissection of Spalding's sins, systematically arranged under the headings: "Falsification of Official Reports," "Falsification of Depositions," "Falsification of Quotations," and "Falsity of Statements."

On completion of the publication of Brouillet's "Reply" in its columns, the *Sentinel* reprinted it in an 18-page pamphlet from the same type and with the same title, together with some additional material, including: a "Declaration of the Five Cayuse Indian Prisoners" who were executed for the Whitman murders (reprinted from the 27 Apr. 1872 *Sentinel*); an extract from a letter from Archbishop Blanchet concerning the trial of the Indians and succeeding events (reprinted from the 20 Apr. *Sentinel*); a "Conclusion"; a passage omitted from the *Sentinel* printing; and corrections of several errors in the text.

The "Conclusion" is a puzzle. It is devoted principally to the role of J. Ross Browne in the controversy—and is grossly inaccurate. Browne was sent to Oregon by the government to investigate the accusation that the people of Oregon had provoked the 1855-56 Indian War for purposes of speculation, and had also investigated Spalding's charge that the Catholic priests had incited the Whitman Massacre. He found no basis for this charge, and embodied Brouillet's published account in his report as conclusive evidence. The "action of the Government" in publishing Browne's "impartial and full report . . . , of course, settled the matter in the minds of all fair minded and honorable people." It is difficult to believe that this is from the pen of Brouillet, who is characteristically meticulous in his respect for facts, and whose "Reply" is an extended and documented protest against Spalding's twisting of facts to suit his purposes. On the other hand, the carelessness and style of the "Conclusion" reminds one of the writings

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unable to obtain any confirmation from the editor of the periodical in 1901. *Essays in Historical Criticism*, pp. 34-35, note 5. But it seems improbable that Brouillet would have labored, within a period of six months, over two quite different approaches to an answer to Spalding, that he would have troubled to maintain anonymity in the *Catholic World* article to the extent of awkwardly quoting himself on Miss Bewley, or that the *Sentinel* would have published both answers if it were known that they were both from the pen of Brouillet (Archbishop Blanchet mentions both answers, and clearly believes that they are by different authors). Brouillet's *Sentinel* series escaped Bourne's attention; "[The *Catholic World* article] is the only critical examination of the document which I have seen."

of Archbishop Blanchet, who probably prepared the pamphlet for publication.

Providentially, Spalding had traveled east soon after President Grant had introduced a new plan for Indian agencies, under which agents would be nominated by church groups actively engaged in missionary work with the various tribes and the church to which a tribe was in effect assigned would have oversight of agency schools. The Nez Perce Indians had been allocated to the Presbyterians; and, even before he arrived in Washington, Spalding had been invited by the Presbyterians to go back to Lapwai as missionary and teacher, an appointment which he joyfully accepted. In Washington he was consulted about agency appointments and used the opportunity to urge the dismissal of his old enemies.[52]

After returning to Oregon in August, Spalding was delayed in the Willamette Valley because of illness in his family. Late in October he arrived at Lapwai, where he was soon embroiled in intrigues against John Monteith, the Presbyterian agent, and other agency officials. In the fall of 1872 he was again removed, by the Presbyterians, and sent to Kamiah, sixty miles up the Clearwater River. His health declined rapidly after a fall in November 1873. In July 1874 he was taken back to Lapwai for the last time, for care by the agency physician—and there he died on 3 Aug.[53]

In the Introduction to *Authentic Account,* Brouillet expressed the belief that *Protestantism in Oregon* had "served to allay . . . the excitement which error inevitably creates where truth is unknown" (p. 3). But Spalding's 1848 efforts had failed before *Protestantism* appeared; and, in spite of inspired resolutions, his 1869-70 efforts had no great impact in Oregon at the time.[54] Years later, when most of the early settlers of Oregon were dead, the cult of the pioneer erected Whitman-saved-Oregon into dogma and Spalding's Document No. 37 into scripture. In 1911, for all who would read and learn, an angry book by an amateur historian, William J. Marshall's *Acquisition of Oregon,* destroyed the

[52] Drury, pp. 390, 391-92.

[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 398-401, 406, 415-16.

[54] The playfulness of the Oregon State Senate is eloquent. The failure of the Methodist Conference to print in its minutes the resolution Spalding had persuaded it to adopt suggests an intentional oversight.

dogma and the scripture, and perhaps delivered an ultimately fatal blow to the cult of the pioneer by revealing its roots in deception and deliberate suppression of evidence. At any rate, in destroying Document No. 37, Marshall vindicated the libeled reputation of Brouillet.

Actually Brouillet had been vindicated and Spalding's charges rejected in the only documented and critically sound accounts of this period of Oregon history that had appeared before the turn of the century, Bancroft's *History of Oregon* (1888) and Victor's *The Early Indian Wars of Oregon* (1894); and the Whitman myth had been demolished by Professor Edward G. Bourne in an article, "The Legend of Marcus Whitman," in the January 1901 issue of the *American Historical Review*.[55] But the legend and the charges maintained themselves through reassertion by prejudiced amateurs indifferent to critical history—an indifference which could, perhaps, be disturbed only by another amateur, who happened to be passionately devoted to critical history.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF EDITIONS OF BROUILLET'S ACCOUNT OF THE MURDER OF DR. WHITMAN

The early Protestant missions to the Indians in the Oregon Country were a dismal failure; but, perhaps by some mechanism of compensation, the struggles and hardships of the Protestant missionaries have become the subject of a vast romantic literature. The Catholic missions were far more successful and involved equally great hardships; yet the memory of these missions is kept alive by a relatively meager literature. And, ironically, the great classic of this meager literature is Brouillet's *Authentic Account*, whose theme is Protestant tragedy, not Catholic success.

The reprints of Brouillet under church auspices in the twentieth century are testimony of the continued Catholic popularity of this classic. An intriguing speculation is the extent to which the persistent Catholic interest in Brouillet is also testimony of the persistent survival of Spalding's charges. The charges were certainly being repeated and believed in Protestant circles when Brouillet was reprinted in *Catholic Progress* in 1905-06 (No. 6)—Spalding's document had been reprinted in 1903—and even when the Ferndale editions appeared in 1911-12 (Nos. 7-8). But the serial reprint in a group of Pacific Northwest Catholic magazines in 1924-25 (No. 9) may have special significance; for these

[55] Revised and greatly expanded in *Essays in Historical Criticism*, pp. 3-109.

reprints coincide with the height of the power of the Ku Klux Klan as a political force in the region and an accompanying wave of anti-Catholic prejudice. Did copies of Spalding's Document No. 37 circulate in Klan circles, and, after all those years, again require an answer?

[1] Protestantism in Oregon. Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman, and the ungrateful culumnies [*sic*] of H. H. Spalding, Protestant Missionary. By the Rev. J. B. A. Brouillet, Vicar-General of Walla Walla. [New York, 1853.]

New-York Freeman's Journal, 26 Feb., 19 Mar., 26 Mar., 2 Apr., 9 Apr., 16 Apr., 23 Apr., 30 Apr., 7 May, 14 May 1853; in all issues p. 1, except 7 May, where the installment is continued on p. 4. "Culumnies" appears in the title through the first three installments. Introductory paragraph to 26 Feb. installment signed: Ed. N.Y.F.J. Peter J. Rahill states, without further detail, that No. 1 "was published in several Catholic newspapers" (*The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy*, p. 56). Brouillet in his Introduction to No. 5 mentions only the *Freeman's Journal* printing.

[2] Protestantism in Oregon. Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman and the Ungrateful Calumnies of H. H. Spalding, Protestant Missionary. By the Rev. J. B. A. Brouillet, Vicar-General of Walla Walla. New York: M. T. Cozans, 556 Broadway. MDCCCLIII.

[iii], 107 p. 11 x 20 cm. Printed wrappers. Reprint of No. 1 from the same type, with some typographical errors corrected. New Preface, p. [iii], signed: J. A. McM.

[3] Protestantism in Oregon. . . . By the Rev. J. B. A. Brouillet. . . . [Washington, D. C., 1858.]

House Ex. Doc. No. 38, 35th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 13-64. Ordered printed 25 Jan. 1858. Reprint of No. 2.

[4] Protestantism in Oregon. . . . By the Rev. J. B. A. Brouillet. . . . [Washington, D. C., 1858.]

Senate Ex. Doc. No. 40, 35th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 13-64. Ordered printed 31 Mar. 1858. Reprint of No. 2 from the type of No. 3.

[5] Authentic Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman and Other Missionaries, by the Cayuse Indians of Oregon, in 1847, and the Causes which Led to that Horrible Catastrophe. By the Very Rev. J. B. A. Brouillet. "Magna est veritas, et praevalebit." Second Edition. Portland, Oregon: S. J. McCormick, Publisher. 1869.

108 p. 11.2 x 19 cm. Printed wrappers. Imprint on verso of title page: A. G. Walling, Printer, Portland. New Introduction, pp. 3-15; new Appendix, pp. 93-108.

[6] History of Oregon Missions. Father Brouillet's Account of the Troubles

of the Early Protestant Missionaries in Oregon. [Seattle, Wash., 1905-06.]

Serial reprint of No. 3 in *Catholic Progress*, weekly newspaper of the Archdiocese of Seattle: 1905—18 Aug., pp. 1, 4; 25 Aug., pp. 1, 4; 1 Sept., pp. 1, 4; 8 Sept., pp. 1, 4; 15 Sept., p. 1; 22 Sept., pp. 1, 4; 29 Sept., pp. 1, 4; 6 Oct., pp. 1, 4; 13 Oct., p. 1; 20 Oct., pp. 1, 4; 27 Oct., pp. 1, 4; 24 Nov., p. 1; 1 Dec., p. 1; 8 Dec., p. 1; 15 Dec., p. 4; . . . 1906—19 Jan., p. 1; 26 Jan., p. 1. Preface omitted. Installments also published in the issues of 22 Dec. 1905 through 12 Jan. 1906, copies of which have not been located. The 26 Jan. 1906 installment includes also Father Pandory's Apr. 1853 letter, which follows Brouillet in House Ex. Doc. No. 38. Editorial conclusions and a summary of the series published in 2 Feb. 1906 issue, p. 1. The title of the 8 Sept. 1905 and following installments is: "History of a Modern Myth."

[7] A True Account of the Murder of Dr. Marcus Whitman, and the ungrateful calumnies of H. H. Spalding, a Protestant missionary. By the Rev. J. B. A. Brouillet. [Ferndale, Wash., 1911-12.]

Serial reprint of No. 3 in *Good Tidings*, a Catholic monthly magazine printed and published by the Rev. J. B. Boulet, St. Joseph's Church, Ferndale, Wash.—one leaf in each of the nineteen issues between Jan. 1911 and July 1912. Only a fragmentary file of these issues has been located, including: 1911—Feb., pp. 15-16; Nov., pp. 87-88; Dec., pp. 95-96. 1912—Feb., pp. 15-16; June, pp. 47-48; July, pp. 55-56. Father Boulet arranged the printing to facilitate the production of a pamphlet edition (No. 8, below) by the assembly of overprints of the Brouillet leaves. The several installments begin and end abruptly, with no "continued" lines and frequently in the middle of a sentence. In addition to drop folios continuing through each volume of the magazine, the Brouillet leaves have running heads and a second series of page numbers anticipating the pamphlet assembly. In 1908-10 Boulet had followed the same plan in producing serial and pamphlet reprints of Archbishop Blanchet's *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon;* see Bagley, *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon*, I, 7.

[8] True Account of the Whitman Murder by the Rev. J. B. A. Brouillet, V.G. Ferndale, Wash. 1912.

40 p. 15.5 x 20 cm. Printed in 2 columns. Printed wrappers, cover title. Assembly of overprints of single leaves from No. 7, without drop folios. The text of Brouillet is concluded on p. 38; on the final leaf, pp. 39-40, are Father Pandory's Apr. 1853 letter, from House Ex. Doc. No. 38, and an article by C. T. Johnson, *Washington Historical Quarterly* II (1908), 204-05, concerning Spalding. This leaf may have appeared in the Aug. 1912 issue of *Good Tidings;* since, however, the pamphlet was advertised for sale in the July 1912 issue (price, 25 cents), the leaf may have been printed especially for the pamphlet.

[9] The Whitman Massacre. By the Very Rev. J. B. A. Brouillet. [Portland, Ore., 1924-25.]

Serial reprint of No. 5, with other material of general Catholic interest, in identical 16-page signatures inserted in the monthly issues of a group of Pacific Northwest Catholic magazines, including the *Inland Empire Catholic Messenger*, the *Lewiston Catholic Monthly*, and the *Helena Catholic Monthly:* 1924—Oct.,

pp. 12-16; Nov., pp. 11-15; Dec., pp. 15-16. 1925—Jan., p. 17; Feb., pp. 19-21; Mar., pp. 15-17; Apr., pp. 12-15; May, pp. 14-17; June, pp. 14-15, 19. Introduction and Appendix omitted. Both the covers and the insert signatures show the "bug" of the Portland Allied Printing Trades Council; the magazines were perhaps printed by the Columban Press, where the *Catholic Sentinel* was printed in the 1920's. Although Oct. 1924-June 1925 files have been located for only the three periodicals noted, fragmentary files indicate that the group of magazines included also at least the following: *Boise Catholic Monthly*, *Moscow Catholic Monthly*, *Catholic Monthly Magazine* (Coeur d'Alene, Ida.), *Holy Rosary Catholic Monthly* (Portland). The Holy Rosary magazine appears to have been one of several published for Portland parishes. The Columban Press has no records of its operations in the 1920's.

[10] Authentic Account of the Murder of Dr. Whitman. . . . By the Very Rev. J. B. A. Brouillet. . . . [Seattle, Wash., 1932.]

In Clarence B. Bagley, *Early Catholic Missions in Old Oregon*. Seattle, Wash.: Lowman & Hanford Company, 1932. I, 151-238. Complete reprint of No. 5, with biographical preface (pp. 153-54).

An Addition to the Hazlitt Canon: Arguments from External and Internal Evidence

By WILLIAM H. MARSHALL

THE *Yellow Dwarf, A Weekly Miscellany* appeared in eight-page numbers on twenty-one successive Saturdays from 3 Jan. through 23 May 1818. Bearing the imprint of John Hunt,[1] the journal was a joint Hunt-Hazlitt enterprise. It contained three articles signed either "W. Hazlitt" or "William Hazlitt"—"What Is the People?" "An Examination of Mr. Malthus's Doctrine," and "On the Regal Character"[2]—and two others simply bearing the initials "W. H."—"On Court Influence" and "On the Opera."[3] Three excerpts appeared from the *Lectures on the English Poets*, which Hazlitt was delivering at the Surrey Institution during January and February 1818.[4] Almost half a century later, W. Carew Hazlitt, grandson of the essayist, remarked, "His share in Mr. Hunt's 'Yellow Dwarf' was considerable. He wrote for it as many as fifteen articles."[5] At this time the grandson definitely added to the canon "On the Clerical Character," signed "X," and "The Fudge Family in Paris," which was unsigned.[6] A. R. Waller and Arnold Glover in-

[1] London:—Printed and published by J. Hunt, No. 19, Catharine-street, Strand. Sold by J. Appleyard, at the same place, and by all the Booksellers and Newsvendors.—Price 4*d*.

[2] *The Yellow Dwarf*, No. 10 (7 Mar. 1818), pp. 74-77; No. 11 (14 Mar.), pp. 83-87; No. 14 (4 April), pp. 106-108; No. 20 (16 May), pp. 154-56.

[3] No. 1 (3 Jan.), pp. 5-7; No. 2 (10 Jan.), pp. 10-12; No. 21 (23 May), pp. 165-67.

[4] "Character of Crabbe," No. 8 (21 Feb.), pp. 61-62; "On the Lake School of Poetry," No. 10 (7 Mar.), pp. 79-80; the Comparison of the Writings of Swift, Rabelais, and Voltaire, No. 19 (9 May), pp. 150-51.

[5] W. Carew Hazlitt, *Memoirs of William Hazlitt. With Portions of His Correspondence* (2 vols., London, 1867), I, 241.

[6] *The Yellow Dwarf*, No. 4 (24 Jan.), pp. 27-29; No. 5 (31 Jan.), pp. 36-38; No. 6 (7 Feb.), pp. 44-45; No. 17 (25 April), pp. 132-35.

cluded in their edition, among the "Fugitive Writings,"[7] three unsigned essays—"The Press—Coleridge, Southey, Wordsworth, and Bentham," "Mr. Coleridge's Lectures," and "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage."[8] All of these were republished by P. P. Howe in his edition of Hazlitt's works.[9] Subsequently no other article in *The Yellow Dwarf* has been attributed to William Hazlitt.

Yet a great body of material in *The Yellow Dwarf* remains, some of it rather journalistic, which bears marks of Hazlitt's authorship. In almost every case, however, the internal evidence is so slight that without extensive external corroboration we could not assign the essay to Hazlitt.[10] The one exception occurs in one of the group of four essays bearing the primary title "Pulpit Oratory"—"Pulpit Oratory. No. I," "Pulpit Oratory. No. II. The Rev. Daniel Wilson, A. M.," "Pulpit Oratory. No. III. The Rev. Henry G. White, M. A. [,] One of the Preachers at the Asylum," "Pulpit Oratory. No. IV. The Rev. Herbert Marsh, Bishop of Landaff [*sic*]"—which appeared in *The Yellow Dwarf* on 7, 14, 28 Feb., and 4 April 1818.[11] All four might be taken at first glance as rather striking examples of Hazlitt's work. They have been ascribed to John Hamilton Reynolds, however, and, with the exception of the last of the four essays, for very good reason.

Reynolds' skill as an imitator is apparent in much of his work. His poem *Safie. An Eastern Tale* (1814) is Byronic, and both some of the verse in *The Naiad* (1816) and the satire *Peter Bell. A Lyrical Ballad* (1819) are obviously Wordsworthian.[12] In December 1820 Hazlitt

[7] A. R. Waller and Arnold Glover, edd. *The Collected Works of William Hazlitt* (12 vols., London, 1902-04), XI, 411-26.

[8] *The Yellow Dwarf*, No. 1 (3 Jan.), pp. 4-5; No. 8 (21 Feb.), pp. 60-61; No. 18 (2 May), pp. 142-44.

[9] P. P. Howe, ed. *The Complete Works of William Hazlitt* (21 vols., London, 1930)—hereafter cited as *Works*. Whenever possible, the source will be indicated in my text following the quotation. See "Index to the Titles of Hazlitt's Writings," XXI, xi-xxii.

[10] An example is the essay "The Case of Mr. Hone" (No. 1 [3 Jan.], pp. 1-4; No. 2 [10 Jan.], p. 9), which W. Carew Hazlitt (I, 241-42), pointing to his grandfather's autograph corrections of this article in his own marked copy of *The Yellow Dwarf* and considering "the absence of any other claimant," was disposed to give to William Hazlitt. For references to this marked copy, now in the British Museum, see *Works* XX, 409.

[11] *The Yellow Dwarf*, No. 6 (7 Feb.), pp. 46-48; No. 7 (14 Feb.), pp. 51-53; No. 9 (28 Feb.), pp. 67-68; No. 14 (4 April), pp. 108-09.

[12] For a discussion of Reynolds' work as an imitator, see George L. Marsh, *John Hamilton Reynolds, Poetry and Prose* (London, 1928), p. 45.

admitted having a substitute, presumably Reynolds, write "The Drama" for *The London Magazine* of October 1820:[13] "In September, we got an able article written for us; for we flatter ourselves, that we not only say good things ourselves, but are the cause of them in others."[14] In 1927 P. P. Howe printed the "Theatrical Examiner" of 9 July 1820,[15] signed "W," as Hazlitt's,[16] but by 1930 Howe recognized the piece as a Reynolds imitation.[17] Hazlitt himself was probably making a general reference to Reynolds when, in "The Drama. No. VIII" in *The London Magazine* of August 1820, he mentioned "a contemporary critic (of whom we might say, that he is *alter et idem*)."[18] On occasion, however, the situation is not so clearcut. The review of Allan Cunningham's *Sir Marmaduke Maxwell* appearing in *The London Magazine* of November 1822,[19] though Howe first attributed it to Hazlitt but then came to regard it as "an example of Reynolds in the character of Hazlitt's *alter ego*,"[20] has now been convincingly assigned to Hazlitt by Herschel M. Sikes,[21] revealing an instance in the history of the identification of Hazlitt's works that is, at least in general, analogous to the present one.

Preliminary consideration of the series entitled "Pulpit Oratory" appearing in *The Yellow Dwarf* reveals two striking facts, which, taken together, would first seem to lead us toward the assumption of Hazlitt's authorship of the *four* essays. First, from the number of articles now

[13] "The Drama. No. X," *The London Magazine* II (1820), 438-43.

[14] "The Drama. No. XI," *Ibid.* II (1820), 686; *Works* XVIII, 369. Here Hazlitt confused the September and October numbers. Perhaps because of this, Josephine Bauer (*The London Magazine, 1820-29* [Copenhagen, 1953], p. 304) has suggested, without indicating her reasons, that Charles Lamb wrote the September number, "The Drama. No. IX," *The London Magazine* II (1820), 321-35. Though signed "L," this was first reprinted as Hazlitt's by his son, William Hazlitt the Younger, in *Criticisms and Dramatic Essays of the English Stage by William Hazlitt* (London, 1851), pp. 134-37, and was included by Howe in *Works* XVIII, 360-66.

[15] *The Examiner*, 8 July 1820, p. 443.

[16] P. P. Howe, ed. *New Writings by William Hazlitt: Second Series* (New York, 1927), pp. 113-16.

[17] *Works* XVIII, 471-72.

[18] "The Drama. No. VIII," *The London Magazine* II (1820), 198; *Works* XVIII, 353.

[19] "Sir Marmaduke Maxwell, &c. By Allan Cunningham," *The London Magazine* VI (1822), 460-66.

[20] *New Writings by William Hazlitt: Second Series*, pp. 179-85; *Works* XVIII, 471-72.

[21] Herschel M. Sikes, "Hazlitt, the *London Magazine*, and the 'Anonymous Reviewer,'" *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* LXV (1961), 159-74.

attributed to Hazlitt it is easy to infer that he was the major literary force in the short-lived journal. Secondly, in the fourth number of *The Liberal*, published in July 1823, appeared the essay "Pulpit Oratory. Dr. Chalmers and Mr. Irving,"[22] which Hazlitt's son, William, reprinted in *The Round Table* (1841). Other external evidence, however, casts compelling doubt upon any such assumption. On 14 Feb. 1818, John Keats, writing to George and Tom Keats, remarked, "Reynolds has been writing two very capital articles in the Yellow Dwarf on popular Preachers."[23] More than thirty years ago, George L. Marsh, pointing to the convincing similarities between the first two essays and the third, concluded that Keats was really referring to "three prose articles" entitled "Pulpit Oratory," since "Nothing else in the *Yellow Dwarf* fits this ascription."[24] Hyder Edward Rollins, in his note on Keats's letter, listed the dates of the four articles—7, 14, 28 Feb., and 4 April[25]—and presumably it is now assumed that all four of the essays entitled "Pulpit Oratory" appearing in *The Yellow Dwarf* in 1818 are by John Hamilton Reynolds. But such is not the case. The first three are indeed the work of Reynolds, but the fourth was written by the man whom Reynolds had so successfully imitated in the first three, William Hazlitt. The text of the fourth essay appears at the end of this article.

The evidence found in *The Yellow Dwarf* itself supporting Reynolds' authorship of the first three essays ultimately bears upon the argument for Hazlitt's authorship of the fourth. First, three of Reynold's sonnets—those beginning "The trees in Sherwood Forest are old and good," "With coat of Lincoln green, and mantle too," and

[22] *The Liberal* II, 199 [actually 299]-313; *Works* XX, 113-22. For discussion of this and other Hazlitt contributions, see my *Byron, Shelley, Hunt, and The Liberal* (Philadelphia, 1960). The title "Pulpit Oratory," though not common, was used elsewhere, at least by Thomas Noon Talfourd for two essays, "Pulpit Oratory. No. I. Introduction; with Remarks on the Reverend Robert Hall" and "Pulpit Oratory. No. II. The Rev. John Leifchild," which appeared in February and March 1822 in *The London Magazine* III, 182-88, 306-11; the first of these was reprinted in *Critical and Miscellaneous Writings of T. Noon Talfourd* (Philadelphia, 1842), pp. 224-36.

[23] *The Letters of John Keats, 1814-1821*, ed. Hyder Edward Rollins (2 vols. Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1958), I, 228—hereafter cited as *Keats Letters*. Whenever possible, the source will be indicated in my text following the quotation.

[24] George L. Marsh, "The Writings of Keats's Friend Reynolds," *Studies in Philology* XXV (1928), 496.

[25] *Keats Letters* I, 228 n.

"Robin the outlaw! Is there not a mass"—signed "J. H. R." appeared together on February 21.[26] Next, the first three of the four articles entitled "Pulpit Oratory" are signed "Caius," one of the names which Reynolds used, as we know from Keats's poem "Hence Burgundy, Claret & Port"—especially "The[n] follow my Caius then follow"—which is contained in his letter to Reynolds dated—significantly—31 Jan. 1818.[27] It seems clear that Reynolds was quite an active contributor to the early numbers of *The Yellow Dwarf*, but it is unlikely that his activity continued, for there were at least three diverting matters: his professional obligations as an articled clerk at law, his courtship of Eliza Powell Drewe, and the illness from which he suffered during the late winter and most of the spring of 1818.

The first two distractions from literary work were closely related, since to the young lady and her family Reynolds' career at law was obviously more promising than his pursuit of success in letters. Although, as it turned out, Reynolds' marriage to Miss Drewe was not to take place until 31 Aug. 1822, his love for her was clearly a major factor in his decision in late 1817 to study law.[28] That he became progressively more involved in this work is apparent from a remark of John Keats in a letter to his brother George dated 17 Mar. 1819: "Reynolds is completely limed in the law: he is not only reconcil'd to it but hobbyhorses upon it" (*Keats Letters* II, 78). His courtship and his new profession, then, offered him the motives to attempt to abandon literary work. On 14 Feb. 1818, Reynolds wrote his well-known sonnet "Farewell to the Muses" in the octavo Shakespeare in which Keats was later to write his "Bright star! would I were steadfast as thou art." And, according to George L. Marsh, Reynolds then refrained from writing for some months, until he composed the article

[26] "Sonnets," *The Yellow Dwarf*, No. 8 (21 Feb.), p. 64. These poems were included by Reynolds in his book *The Garden of Florence* (London, 1821), pp. 124-27.

[27] *Keats Letters* I, 221. Reynolds copied the poem into his commonplace book, dating it 7 Feb. 1818 (*The Poetical Works of John Keats*, ed. H. W. Garrod [Oxford, 1958], p. 481).

[28] In a letter to Benjamin Bailey dated 3 Nov. 1817, Keats mentioned that "John was to be articled tom[or]row I suppose by this time it is done" (*Keats Letters* I, 181). James Rice paid the fees for the articles. In January 1818, Reynolds was established in the office of Francis Fladgate, Solicitor (Leonidas M. Jones, "Reynolds and Keats," *Keats-Shelley Journal* VII [1958], 49).

in defense of Keats, "The Quarterly Review—Mr. Keats," which appeared in *The Alfred*, an Exeter newspaper, on 6 Oct. 1818.[29]

Reynolds' illness, which in fact supports the proposition that he was not writing between late February and October 1818, began at some point between 3 and 18 Feb., for on the earlier date Keats was writing to Reynolds about plans for the following evening, but in a letter dated 21 Feb. Keats remarked to his brothers George and Tom, "Reynolds has been very ill for some time—confined to the house— and had Leeches applied to the chest—When I saw him on Wednesday [18 Feb.] he was much the same" (*Keats Letters* 1, 225, 236). Keats, who left London on 4 Mar. and returned by 11 May,[30] learned from his brother George in a letter of 18 Mar. that "John Reynolds is little better, in many respects worse, he has a very bad rheumatic Fever, and suffers constant pain" (*Keats Letters* 1, 247). On 25 Mar. Keats sent a poetic epistle to Reynolds (*Ibid.* 1, 259-63), and on 9 April he was hopefully referring to "the close of your long illness" (*Ibid.* 1, 267). But on 27 April Keats reported hearing "from George at different times how slowly you were recovering" (*Ibid.* 1, 273). On 25 May, after his return to London, Keats indicated to Benjamin Bailey that on the following day he would call on Reynolds, who "has been getting much better" (*Ibid.* 1, 288). By this time, however, the last number of *The Yellow Dwarf* had appeared. Reynolds continued to improve and was described by Keats to Bailey on 10 June as "robust" (*Ibid.* 1, 294) and on 22 July as "a new Man" (*Ibid.* 1, 344). In late August Reynolds left for a visit to the Drewe family in Devonshire,[31] during which, surprisingly perhaps, he was to write the article for *The Alfred;* he had returned by 14 Oct. 1818.[32]

The three factors—Reynolds' legal studies, courtship, and illness —combine, therefore, to suggest that it is unlikely that he wrote the fourth essay in the series "Pulpit Oratory" in *The Yellow Dwarf*. The essay opens with reference to a sermon which the writer heard preached

[29] *John Hamilton Reynolds, Poetry and Prose*, pp. 21, 22, 176, 182-87. The defense of Keats was reprinted in *The Examiner* (Sunday), 11 Oct. 1818, pp. 648-49.

[30] J. A. Hessey to John Taylor, 6 Mar. 1818 (*The Keats Circle. Letters and Papers, 1816-1878*, ed. Hyder Edward Rollins [2 vols., Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1948], 1, 12); Dorothy Hewlett, *A Life of John Keats* (2nd ed., New York, 1950), p. 383.

[31] Keats to Jane Reynolds, 1 Sept. 1818 (*Keats Letters* 1, 366).

[32] Keats to George and Georgiana Keats, 14 Oct. 1818 (*Ibid.* 1, 393).

"at the Chapel-royal," presumably St. James's, by the Reverend Herbert Marsh, Bishop of Llandaff, "two or three Sundays ago." It is possible of course that the reference to the time of the sermon is merely figurative or that the essay was written long before its publication on 4 April, but the first possibility seems pointless and the second suggests extreme unimaginativeness, since many readers would know that Marsh did not give his sermon "two or three Sundays ago." The date of the sermon becomes crucial. The Chapel-Royal, St. James's Palace, was closed for repairs during a six-month period prior to 1 Feb., the Sunday preceding Ash Wednesday, 1818, when the Chaplain-in-waiting preached the sermon.[33] Obviously the intention was to have the newly repaired and decorated Chapel ready for the Lenten Season, during which important members of the clergy would preach on the various Sundays, culminating with Palm Sunday and Easter, 15 and 22 Mar. 1818, on which, respectively, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York preached.[34] Although an extensive search has not produced records of Marsh's sermon,[35] it is reasonable to assume that he was one of these visitors, preaching in St. James's Palace between 8 Feb. and 8 Mar. Accordingly, the essay was written no earlier than Monday, 23 Feb.—or, as seems unlikely, if the author were being absolutely restrictive when he wrote "*two* . . . Sundays ago" (italics mine), 16 Feb.—and no later than the latter part of March, only some days before its publication on 4 April. It remains a possibility of course that—despite business commitments, "Farewell to the Muses," and prolonged illness—John Hamilton Reynolds did write the essay at some point during this period, omitting the revealing signature "Caius," which had followed the first three essays, because he did not wish Miss Drewe or her family to be aware of his return at this time to literary pursuits. But such does not seem likely.

On the surface of these circumstances, it would appear that though John Hamilton Reynolds wrote the first three articles of the series "Pulpit Oratory" appearing in *The Yellow Dwarf*, he did not write

[33] *The Morning Chronicle*, 2 Feb. 1818; also *The Times* and *The Morning Post*, 2 Feb.

[34] *The Times*, 16 and 23 Mar. 1818.

[35] I wish to thank those who have assisted me in searching records and newspaper files, particularly the Librarian at Lambeth Palace, various officials of the Diocese of Llandaff, and Miss Ruth M. Collis of the firm of B. F. Stevens and Brown, London.

the fourth. But this assertion does not suggest firmly that William Hazlitt did write it. Within the very obvious framework of Hazlitt's connection with *The Yellow Dwarf* from the first through the twenty-first number, we must turn to internal evidence to demonstrate that he was the author of "Pulpit Oratory. No. iv. The Rev. Herbert Marsh, Bishop of Landaff."

The internal evidence in this instance is of three kinds—correlation between this and known Hazlitt work in the use of ideas, in proper references, and in literary quotations—of which the last two are clearly similar.

Regarding the first type, it is at once clear that the most striking ideas running through the four essays, and through much of *The Yellow Dwarf* in fact, are social and political, the ideas shared by most of the group around Hazlitt and Reynolds. Dominantly anti-clerical, these offer no direct means of differentiating the first three from the fourth "Pulpit Oratory," but a comparison of the expressions of the anti-clerical thesis in the first of these four essays with those in the three-part essay "On the Clerical Character"—which we know was by Hazlitt and the third part of which was published in the same number of *The Yellow Dwarf* in which the first "Pulpit Oratory" appeared, that of 7 Feb.—will reveal an aspect of Reynolds' method and offer a clue for the differentiation between a real Hazlitt essay and an imitation by Reynolds. Three illustrations will serve:

(i)

> Their principles are gorged by their interests, and their religious humility lies fawning at the feet of their worldly pride. They bow their heads only toward the high places, and take in the good things of this world with the same enthusiastic earnestness that they talk of and laud the good things of the world to come. From the day of their ordination, in all their works and wanderings—in their thoughts, their hopes, and their aims—they keep the old huge holy home at Lambeth as the great and perfect end. They know that there, by the side of the river, for all the sacrifices of conscience, for all dutiful concessions to the high and the noble of their time, there is "a harbour and ultimate repose" ("Pulpit Oratory. No. 1").

Principle is a word that is not to be found in the Young Clergyman's

Best Companion: it is a thing he has no idea of, except as something pragmatical, sour, puritanical, and Presbyterian. To oblige is his object, not to offend. He wishes "to be conformed to this world, rather than transformed" [see *Romans*, xii:2]. He expects one day to be a Court-divine, a dignitary of the Church, an ornament to the State; and he knows all the texts of Scripture, which, tacked to a visitation, an assize, or corporation dinner sermon, will float him gently, "like little wanton boys that swim on bladders" [*Henry VIII*, III, iii, 359], up to the palace at Lambeth ("On the Clerical Character," 31 Jan.; *Works* VII, 251).

(ii)

He calls us his brethren; but meet him, ponderously pondering and pacing through the street, taking, with his well-fed wig and broad black skirts, "ample room and verge enough" [Gray, "The Bard," 51], and then call him brother, or expect him to call you or treat you as a brother, and see how he will act ("Pulpit Oratory. No. I").

We do not care to meet the Lawyers fluttering about Chancery-lane in their full-bottomed wigs and loose silk gowns . . . but we hate much more to meet a three-cornered well-pinched clerical hat on a prim expectant pair of shoulders, that seems to announce to half a street before it that sees the theological puppet coming, with a mingled air of humility and self-conceit—"Stand off, for I am holier than you" ("On the Clerical Character," 24 Jan.; *Works* VII, 243).

(iii)

All Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are well off. Their temporal wealth, food, and delights, are taken as much care of as their eternal. They live in a pretty division between heaven and earth, and devote all the spare hours from the comforts of their bodies, to the good of their souls. . . . There are the priests that live richly in the great Episcopal Sees, stall-fed on the oil cakes of the Cathedral, revelling in gorgeous food, and proudly sleeping and feeding a life away ("Pulpit Oratory. No. I").

They indulge in all the sensuality that is not prohibited in the Decalogue: they monopolize every convenience they can lay lawful hands on; and consider themselves as the peculiar favourites of Heaven, and the rightful inheritors of the earth. They are on a short

> allowance of sin; and are only the more eager to catch at all the stray bits and nice morsels they can meet. They are always considering how they shall indemnify themselves in smaller things, for their grudging self-denial in greater ones. Satan lies in wait for them in a pinch of snuff, in a plate of buttered toast, or the kidney end of a loin of veal. They lead their cooks the devil of a life. Their dinner is the principal event of the day. They say a long grace over it, partly to prolong the pleasure of expectation, and to keep others waiting ("On the Clerical Character," 31 Jan.; *Works* VII, 248).

Only because we know from external sources that Reynolds wrote the first three of the essays do we not conclude from these and similar correlations that Hazlitt was the author of the first "Pulpit Oratory" and, by extension, the second and third. There is a difference, however, which these correlations might incompletely suggest, between comparisons of the first three essays in the series and comparisons of the fourth essay with Hazlitt's known work: with one exception,[36] the references to proper names and the use of quotations in the first three essays entitled "Pulpit Oratory" correspond to those in essays in the Hazlitt canon published *before* the time of the writing of the three essays in question;[37] but in a significant number of instances in the fourth essay, proper references and quotations, some of them of a rather complex nature, appeared which had not been previously used in essays in the Hazlitt canon but were to appear once or more thereafter. Hence, unless we allow for extreme coincidence, we must conclude that the essay "Pulpit Oratory. No. IV. The Rev. Herbert Marsh, Bishop of Landaff" was written by William Hazlitt.

In the two sections which follow I hope to illustrate (I) further in-

[36] The exception is to be found in the adaptation of the line from Pope's *An Essay on Man* (II, 136): "Grows with his growth, and strengthens with his strength." Occurring in Reynolds' "Pulpit Oratory, No. I," it was first used by Hazlitt in "On Application to Study," *The New Monthly Magazine* VIII (1823), 533-41; *Works* XII, 60. Hazlitt himself had previously cited *An Essay on Man* (I, 267) in *A New and Improved Grammar of the English Tongue*, 1809; *Works* II, 36. He had just discussed "Dryden and Pope" in the third of his *Lectures on the English Poets*. The quotation was presumably well known and as an isolated instance would have very little bearing on the present question.

[37] The approximate date of the composition of "Pulpit Oratory. No. I" can be easily established. The essay, published 7 Feb., opens with reference to the speech of the Prince Regent demanding new churches, which was read at the opening of Parliament on 27 Jan. and reported the following day in *The Times*. The first "Pulpit Oratory" closes with anticipation of the second, so that we have some reason to assume that the three essays were written in the order of their appearance.

stances of Reynolds' method, using proper references and quotations employed by Hazlitt in essays *already published* or, in one case, in preparation and therefore available to Reynolds; and (II) instances of the occurrence in the fourth "Pulpit Oratory" of proper references and quotations which are to be found only *later* in the Hazlitt canon and therefore offer support for my central proposition.[38]

I.

A. Proper references:

(i)

> They are true Church-born Ministers, dipped in a bath of Methodistic enthusiasm. They rave at all discontent, but that of their own creating. National troubles and oppressions are beat down and destroyed on the very cushions before them; but they furnish a very sufficient misery in the stead,—the misery of self-debasement and self-horror ("Pulpit Oratory. No. I").

> The Methodists think well of him, because he draws ghastly pictures over the pages of Scripture,—riots in the jargon of true repentance,—appeals to the passions, the weaknesses, the miseries of mankind,—and trusts to the moment for words to clothe his mechanical enthusiasm in ("Pulpit Oratory. No. II. The Rev. Daniel Wilson, A. M.").

See Hazlitt's "On the Causes of Methodism," *The Examiner*, 22 Oct. 1815; *Works* IV, 57, 59.[39]

(ii)

> We are not likely to be led aside by an overweening love towards Mr. Wilberforce, or a public passion for the gracious Mr. Vansittart, or a lawful tenderness towards Mr. Butterworth, or a respectful love for my Lord Sidmouth, to turn aside from saying what we really think of the talents of our popular Preachers ("Pulpit Oratory. No. I").

See "On Good-Nature," *The Examiner*, 9 June 1816; *Works* IV, 104.

[38] Regarding (II), there are in the fourth "Pulpit Oratory" of course several proper references and quotations which have occurred previously in Hazlitt's essays, but, considered without external evidence such as we have regarding the authorship of the first three essays, these prove nothing against Hazlitt's authorship or for Reynolds'.

[39] A similar assertion was to occur in "On Cant and Hypocrisy," *The London Weekly Review*, 6 and 13 Dec. 1828; *Works* XVII, 350.

(iii)

> Goldsmith's description of Burke in his *Retaliation*, might be transferred with great truth to this popular Divine [Wilson] ("Pulpit Oratory. No. II. The Rev. Daniel Wilson, A. M." See Goldsmith, "Retaliation," 29-42).

See "Critical Notes," *The Eloquence of the British Senate*, 1807; *Works* I, 171; also "On Swift, Young, Gray, Collins, &c," *Lectures on the English Poets*, 1818 (this might well have been in preparation while Reynolds was writing his essay); *Works* V, 120.[40]

(iv)

> Mr. Abraham Adams was surely the most *amiable* Parson that ever existed. His simplicity clothed him even as with a garment. At fifty years of age, the Bishop had rewarded all his virtue and excellent qualities with a handsome income of twenty-three pounds a year; "which, however, he could not make any great figure with, because he lived in a dear country, and was a little encumbered with a wife and six children [*Joseph Andrews*, Bk. I, ch. iii]" ("Pulpit Oratory. No. III. The Rev. Henry G. White, M. A. One of the Preachers at the Asylum").

See "Standard Novels and Romances," *Edinburgh Review*, Feb. 1815; *Works* XVI, 13; also "On the Clerical Character," 7 Feb. 1818; *Works* VII, 258.

B. Quotations: Despite Hazlitt's insistence upon the dangers involved "in quoting from memory,"[41] he was a constant offender. Among the English writers Shakespeare was Hazlitt's first source for quotation, or misquotation; then follow such figures as Fielding, Gray, Cowper, and the King James translators. Reynolds took the epigraph for the first of his three imitative essays from Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (Bk. II, canto xii, stanza 3), a work to which Hazlitt referred with some frequency and with which he was concerned in "On Chaucer and Spenser," the second of the *Lectures on the English Poets* (*Works* V, 19-44),

[40] Two similar references to Goldsmith's poem were to appear, in "On the Qualifications Necessary to Success in Life," *The London Magazine* I (1820), 646-54, and in *Conversations of James Northcote, Esquire, R. A.*, 1830; *Works* XI, 255; XII, 197-98.

[41] "On Application to Study," *The New Monthly Magazine* VIII (1823), 533-41; *Works* XII, 58.

delivered in January 1818, shortly before Reynolds wrote "Pulpit Oratory. No. I." The epigraph for the second essay comes from Cowper's *The Task* (VI, 906-14), the poem which had furnished Hazlitt the epigraph for the essay "On the Effects of War and Taxes," published in *The Champion* on 31 Aug. 1817 (*Works* VII, 219), and, more significantly, the epigraph used for each of the first two parts of "On the Clerical Character" (*Ibid.* VII, 242, 247). The epigraph for the third "Pulpit Oratory," taken from *Joseph Andrews* (Bk. II, ch. xvii), introduces the contrast between the ideal cleric, Parson Adams, and the actual, Henry G. White, and at the same time recalls Hazlitt's use of Fielding's novel as the source of the epigraph for the essay "On the Ideal," which was published in *The Champion* on 8 Jan. 1815 (*Works* XVIII, 77). The quotations which Reynolds used in these essays, especially the third given below, are generally not unfamiliar, so that one or two might well have been used without imitative purpose. They reveal his method less dramatically perhaps than his borrowings from Hazlitt of proper references.

(i)

> but meet him, ponderously pondering and pacing through the street, taking, with his well-fed wig and broad black skirts, "ample room and verge enough" ("Pulpit Oratory. No. I").
>
> *source:* "Give ample room, and verge enough" (Gray, "The Bard," 51).

See "Mr. Coleridge's Lay-Sermon," *The Examiner*, 8 Sept. 1816; *Works* VII, 116-17.[42]

(ii)

> With their arms do they labour in their calling and "sweet religion, make a rhapsody of words!" ("Pulpit Oratory. No. I").
>
> *source:* "and sweet religion makes | A rhapsody of words" (*Hamlet*, III, iv, 47-48).

[42] Hazlitt was to use adaptations of this quotation in "Character of Cobbett" in *Table Talk*, 1821, *Works* VIII, 57; in "The Drama. No. III," *The London Magazine* I (1820), 297-304, *Works* XVIII, 291; and in "Haydon's 'Christ's Agony in the Garden,'" *The London Magazine* III (1821), 537-39, *Works* XVIII, 143.

See "On the Causes of Methodism," *The Examiner*, 22 Oct. 1815; *Works* IV, 60.

(iii)

> We have spoken thus far of Mr. Wilson's manner and physical peculiarities; we shall proceed to say a few words on things of a more serious consequence,—"we mean the matter that he reads, my Lord" ("Pulpit Oratory. No. II. The Rev. Daniel Wilson, A. M.").
>
> *source:* "I mean, the matter that you read, my Lord" (*Hamlet*, II, ii, 197).

See the epigraph for the fifth part of "Illustrations of Vetus," *The Morning Chronicle*, 5 Jan. 1814; *Works* VII, 66.[43]

(iv)

> "Fear God, and honour the King," is his motto ("Pulpit Oratory. No. II. The Rev. Daniel Wilson, A. M.").
>
> *source:* "Fear God. Honour the King" (*I Peter* ii:17).

See "On the Clerical Character," 7 Feb. 1818; *Works* VII, 258.

II.

There are two proper references in the fourth "Pulpit Oratory" which occur earlier in Hazlitt's work, that to the faces in Raphael's *Miracle of the Conversion* and that to German philosophy. The first—"It [Marsh's head] was not like the heads of the Cardinals and Popes in Raphael's Miracle of the Conversion (oh, no!)"—recalls Hazlitt's remark in the essay "On the Ideal," published in *The Champion*, 8 Jan. 1815: "If any thing is wanting to the conclusiveness of this testimony, it is only to look at the pictures themselves, particularly the Miracle of the Conversion, and the Assembly of the Saints, which are little else than a collection of divine portraits, in natural and expressive attitudes,—full of the loftiest thought and feeling, and as varied as they are fine" (*Works* XVIII, 80-81). And the reference to the Germans in the fourth "Pulpit Oratory"—"In short, it was a face transplanted out of the German, able to digest solid folios, and solid beef

[43] Hazlitt was to use adaptations of this quotation in "On Reading Old Books," *The London Magazine* III (1821), 128-34, *Works* XII, 225; and in "On Familiar Style" in *Table Talk* (second volume), 1822, *Works* VIII, 246.

and pudding, and proper to block up the way to common sense or wisdom, in a narrow pass of school-divinity"—recalls Hazlitt's comment in "Mme. De Stael's New Work," published in *The Morning Chronicle* on 13 Nov. 1813: "Her opinions and reasonings are undoubtedly for the most part those of the German school; but she has added to them a point, a brilliance, and lightness which they exceedingly wanted before" (*Works* XIX, 5). It anticipated both Hazlitt's remarks in his *Characteristics: in the Manner of Rochefoucault's Maxims* (1823) and his description in the essay "On Disagreeable People," published in *The Monthly Magazine* in August 1827 (*Works* IX, 214; XVII, 236).

The reference to Coleridge's lay-sermon with which the fourth essay closes suggests so many similar remarks preceding and following 1818 that it offers nothing beyond a general indication of Hazlitt's hand, which in this instance might easily have been imitated. Otherwise, the significant proper references and quotations found in "Pulpit Oratory. No. IV" and occurring elsewhere in the Hazlitt canon are used in this essay for the first time.

A. Proper references:

(i)

> He [Herbert Marsh] is too dull to joke or be joked upon. Dr. South, though a Bishop, was witty in the pulpit; Tillotson was amiable; Barrow was eloquent; Atterbury was elegant; Swift was sensible; Berkeley was subtle; *Butler was profound;* but the present Bishop of Landaff was none of these ("Pulpit Oratory. No. IV"; italics mine).

Although similar references to Isaac Barrow,[44] Francis Atterbury,[45] Jonathan Swift,[46] and George Berkeley,[47] appear in essays by Hazlitt which were published before the time of composition in 1818, the first

[44] "Mr. Coleridge's Statesman's Manual," *The Examiner*, 29 Dec. 1816, pp. 824-27, *Works* VII, 127-28. A subsequent reference was to occur in "On Wit and Humour" in *Lectures on the English Comic Writers*, 1819, *Works* VI, 26-27.

[45] "Biographical and Critical Notes" to *The Eloquence of the British Senate*, 1807, *Works* I, 158.

[46] "On Swift, Young, Gray, Collins, &c" in *Lectures on the English Poets*, 1818, *Works* V, 109, 110, 112. Subsequent references were to appear in "Character of Cobbett" in *Table Talk*, 1821, *Works* VIII, 50; and in *Select British Poets*, 1824, *Works* IX, 240.

[47] *Remarks on the Systems of Hartley and Helvetius*, 1805, *Works* I, 64; "On Locke's 'Essay on the Human Understanding' " in *Lectures on English Philosophy*, delivered 1812, *Works* II, 180; later references were to appear in "A Reply to 'Z,' " written in Sept. 1818,

description of Joseph Butler, Bishop of Durham, as "profound" is to be found in "My First Acquaintance with Poets," which—though developed from a letter entitled "Mr. Coleridge's Lay-Sermon" in *The Examiner* of 12 Jan. 1817 (*Works* VII, 128-29)—was published in the third number of *The Liberal* in April 1823:

> He [Coleridge] considered Bishop Butler as a true philosopher, a profound and conscientious thinker, a genuine reader of nature and of his own mind. He did not speak of his *Analogy*, but of his *Sermons at the Rolls' Chapel*, of which I had never heard. Coleridge somehow always contrived to prefer the *unknown* to the *known*. In this instance he was right. The *Analogy* is a tissue of sophistry, of wire-drawn, theological special-pleading; the *Sermons* (with the Preface to them) are in a fine vein of deep, matured reflection, a candid appeal to our observation of human nature, without pedantry and without bias (*Works* XVII, 113).

The only other reference to Butler's profundity appears in "American Literature—Dr. Channing," published in *The Edinburgh Review* in October 1829:

> In the line of argument adopted by our author, there is a strong reflection of the original and masterly views of the innate capacity of the soul for piety and goodness, insisted on in Bishop Butler's *Sermons*—a work which has fallen into neglect, partly because of the harshness and obscurity of its style, but more because it contains neither a libel on human nature, nor a burlesque upon religion. There is much in the above train of thought silently borrowed from this profound work (*Works* XVI, 331).

B. Quotations:

(i)

"Hear him but reason in divinity.
The Gordian knot of it he will untie,
Familiar as his garter" (Epigraph for "Pulpit Oratory. No. IV").

source: Henry V, I, i, 38-48.

Works IX, 4; in "My First Acquaintance with Poets," *The Liberal* II (1823), 23-46, *Works* XVII, 113; in "Landor's Imaginary Conversations," *The Edinburgh Review* XL (1824), 67-92, *Works* XVI, 258; in "On the Causes of Popular Opinion," *The London Weekly Review*, 16 Feb. 1828, *Works* XVII, 312; and in "Outline of Morals," written 1828, *Works* XX, 381.

he has his topic ready to discharge in the same breath with the customary forms of salutation; he is hand and glove with it; on it goes and off, and he manages it like Wart his caviler.

> "Hear him but reason in divinity,
> And, all-admiring, with an inward wish
> You would desire that he were made a prelate.
> Let him but talk of any state-affair,
> You'd say it had been all in all his study.
> Turn him to any cause of policy,
> The Gordian knot of it he will unloose,
> Familiar as his garter. When he speaks,
> The air, a charter'd libertine, stands still"—
>
> ("On the Difference between Writing and Speaking," *The London Magazine*, July 1820; *Works* XII, 263).

(ii)

nor was it "one of those heads which Guido has often painted, mild, pale, penetrating, looking forward beyond this world" ("Pulpit Oratory. No. IV").

No specific source for this supposed quotation has come to light, though several passages in Jonathan Richardson's *Works* (1792 edition)[48] reveal significant similarities:

> and Guido's character is grace (p. 87);
> not Guido Reni, no, nor Rafaelle himself could have conceived a passion with more delicacy, or more strongly expressed it (p. 126);

> The prints etched by the masters themselves; such as those of Parmeggiano, Annibale Caracci, and Guido Reni (who are the chief of those of whom we have works of this kind) are considerable upon the same account; not for the handling, but the spirit, the expression, the drawing, and other [,] the most excellent properties of a picture, or drawing (p. 167).

Although Hazlitt referred to Richardson before 1818, he did not quote from him until he wrote the essay "On the Pleasure of Painting," which was published in *The London Magazine* in December 1820:

[48] *The Works of Jonathan Richardson. Containing I. The Theory of Painting. II. Essay on the Art of Criticism (So far as it relates to Painting). III. The Science of a Connoisseur* (London, 1792).

> The same writer speaks feelingly of the change in the style of different artists from their change of fortune, and as the circumstances are little known, I will quote a passage relating to two of them.
>
> "... Those of his [Guido Reni's] works, therefore, which he did in this unhappy part of his life, may easily be conceived to be in a different style to what he did before, which in some things, that is, in the airs of his heads (in the gracious kind), had a delicacy in them peculiar to himself, and almost more than human [Richardson, p. 152]" (*Works* VIII, 20).

A further citation from Richardson, found in the essay "On Personal Character," which was published in *The London Magazine* in March 1821 (*Works* XII, 238), has no direct bearing on the present question. The references to Guido Reni, though perhaps primarily indicating Hazlitt's somewhat limited appreciation before 1818,[49] reveal in later instances strong similarity to that in "Pulpit Oratory. No. IV":

> some of Guido's angelic heads (*Table Talk*, [first volume] 1821; *Works* VIII, 14);
>
> an angelic head of Guido (*Table Talk*, [second volume] 1822; *Works* VIII, 219);
>
> Surely, there is a sweetness in Guido's heads, as there is also a music in his name. If Raphael did more, it was not with the same ease. His heads have more meaning; but Guido's have a look of youthful innocence, which his are without ("Pictures at Burleigh House," *The New Monthly Magazine*, April 1822; *Works* X, 67).
>
> Guido was the "genteelest" of painters; he was a poetical Vandyke. The latter could give, with inimitable and perfect skill, the airs and graces of people of fashion under their daily and habitual aspects, or as he might see them in a looking-glass. The former saw them in his "mind's eye," and could transform them into supposed characters and imaginary situations. Still the elements were the same. Vandyke gave them with the *mannerism* of habit and individual details; Guido, as

[49] In the essay "Why the Arts Are Not Progressive," *The Morning Chronicle*, 11 and 15 Jan. 1814, republished in *The Round Table*, 1817, Hazlitt remarked, "in general the best of these cultivated and artificial minds were of an inferior order, as Tasso and Pope among poets, Guido and Vandyke among painters" (*Works* IV, 162). In his article on "Fine Arts" for *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1817, Hazlitt described the female faces painted by Guido as "exceedingly beautiful and ideal, but altogether commonplace and vapid, compared with those of Raphael or Correggio" (*Works* XVIII, 118).

they were rounded into grace and smoothness by the breath of fancy, and borne along by the tide of sentiment. Guido did not want the *ideal* faculty, though he wanted strength and variety ("On A Portrait of An English Lady," written 1824-25, published in *The Plain Speaker*, 1826; *Works* XII, 283-84).

See also "Notes of a Journey through France and Italy," Nos. 3 and 20, *The Morning Chronicle*, 28 Sept. 1824, 12 Aug. 1825, reprinted 1826; *Works* X, 111, 237.

(iii)

We are, however, considerably posed in making it out for want of materials. *Of nothing nothing comes* ("Pulpit Oratory. No. IV").

"Nothing can come of nothing." We truly and strictly could not make a word of sense of it [Colonel Hamilton's opera, *David Rizzio*]. We wonder whose it can be ("The Drama. No. VII," *The London Magazine*, July 1820; *Works* XVIII, 349).

In his note (*Works* XVIII, 471), P. P. Howe gave the source of the latter quotation as Persius, *Satires* (III, 84): "De nihilo nihil." Actually, this idea is expressed by a sufficient number of writers to become a commonplace, and the expressions themselves, particularly after translation, tend to be highly similar.

(iv)

Herbert Marsh is not "witty in himself, nor the cause of wit in other men" ("Pulpit Oratory. No. IV").

source: "I am not witty in myself, but the cause that wit is in other men" (*II Henry IV*, I, ii, 10-11).

Punch is not merry in himself, but "he is the cause of heartfelt mirth in other men" ("On Wit and Humour," *Lectures on the English Comic Writers* 1819; *Works* VI, 25).

In September, we got an able article written for us; for we flatter ourselves, that we not only say good things ourselves, but are the cause of them in others ("The Drama. No. XI," *The London Magazine*, December 1820; *Works* XVIII, 369).

If, however, not brave in themselves, they were "the cause of bravery in other men" (*The Life of Napoleon Buonaparte*, [volume one] 1828; *Works* XIII, 175).

(v)

and when he tried to argue, he only argued against himself. . . . "His reasons were as two grains in a bushel of chaff: he had hunted a long time to find them, and when he had found them, they were not worth the keeping" ("Pulpit Oratory. No. IV").

source: "His reasons are as two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff. You shall seek all day ere you find them; and when you have them, they are not worth the search" (*The Merchant of Venice*, I, i, 116-18).

His [Samuel Butler's] humour is to his wit, "as one grain of wheat in a bushel of chaff: you shall search all day, and when you find it, it is not worth the trouble" ("On Cowley, Butler, Suckling, Etherege, &c," *Lectures on the English Comic Writers*, 1819; *Works* VI, 65).

The poet insists upon matters of fact from the beauty or grandeur that accompanies them; our prose-poet insists upon them because they are matters of fact, and buries the beauty and grandeur in a heap of common rubbish, "like two grains of wheat in a bushel of chaff" ("On Miscellaneous Poems," *Lectures Chiefly on the Dramatic Literature of the Age of Elizabeth*, 1820; *Works* VI, 322).

(vi)

As from the common text, that we shall see the face of the Lord, it was pretended that we must therefore know one another's faces, which is what Partridge, the schoolmaster, would have called a *non sequitur* ("Pulpit Oratory. No. IV").

source: "Excuse me there, Mr. Serjeant," quoth Partridge, "that's a *non sequitur*."—"None of your outlandish lingo," answered the serjeant, leaping from his seat; "I will not sit still and hear the cloth abused."—"You mistake me, friend," cries Partridge. "I did not mean to abuse the cloth; I only said your conclusion was a *non sequitur*" (*Tom Jones*, Bk. IX, ch. VI).

[Regarding an assertion by William Lisle Bowles] That's a *Non Sequitur*, as Partridge has it ("Pope, Lord Byron, and Mr. Bowles," *The London Magazine*, June 1821; *Works* XIX, 69).

To some observers the foregoing material may seem to offer a

cumulative rather than a logical demonstration that William Hazlitt was the author of the fourth "Pulpit Oratory" in *The Yellow Dwarf*. Yet only if we take refuge in a belief in almost absolute coincidence can we take exception to the implications of the accumulation of evidence. Regarding the circumstances leading to Hazlitt's authorship of the essay on Bishop Marsh, we can only make conjectures, but these are not difficult. Hard pressed after Reynolds' apparent withdrawal from participation in *The Yellow Dwarf*, either John Hunt or Hazlitt proposed that Hazlitt should continue the series begun by Reynolds, but before the termination of the periodical Hazlitt had the opportunity to write only one essay.[50] He omitted Reynolds' signature "Caius," but otherwise made no specific indication that the work was not by the same hand as that which had written the first three essays. After all, Reynolds had been imitating Hazlitt then, and it is likely that at this point Hazlitt, aware that *The Yellow Dwarf* revealed an increasing lack of variety in its authorship, would be just as happy to have those who might have suspected another hand in the first three essays believe also that the same wrote this last "Pulpit Oratory" as well. Whatever was Hazlitt's intention, his authorship has remained unsuspected until the present.

The essay reprinted here is not of high intrinsic merit. Whether it derives value from its identification as the work of an important writer is a theoretical matter with which I am not now concerned. Its identification is significant, however, simply because it illustrates the potential complexity of the problem of the canon of any author, particularly one in nineteenth-century England, who uses the periodical press as an outlet—a complexity that is not fully recognized perhaps by those who take literally the titles of complete editions of these authors' works.

[50] Nearly five years later Hazlitt was to write another "Pulpit Oratory," to be published in the last number of another short-lived periodical of which John Hunt was publisher, *The Liberal*, again at a time when copy was running low. This essay was not brought from old files of *The Yellow Dwarf*, as we might at first be inclined to suspect, for the remarks in it concerning Edward Irving could not have been written before 1822.

PULPIT ORATORY.

No. IV.

The Rev. Herbert Marsh, Bishop of Landaff [*sic*].[51]

"Hear him but reason in divinity.
The Gordian knot of it he will untie,
Familiar as his garter."

Two or three Sundays ago this Reverend personage preached a sermon at the Chapel-royal, on which occasion we (though unworthy) *assisted*. The sermon was preached before the Prince Regent, and the subject was the renewal of our knowledge of one another in a future state. The point was a delicate one,[52] and the Bishop handled it delicately. He avoided the pathetic, as a rock on which all his future hopes might split. Neither did he soar into the sublime, that after being rapt with St. Paul into the third heavens, he might alight in his descent on Durham's golden See. Mr. Herbert Marsh kept on his due course through the dangerous flats and quicksands of controversial divinity, as fixed, as unmoved, as bluff and harmless as the wooden figure at the head of a vessel making lee-way on a voyage of discovery round the North Pole. The Bishop's head is a good head for a Bishop: it is round and red and well-fed and reverend and canonical, being set off with a white wig and surplice. It is also a *learned* head, that is, it looks as if it had nothing of its own in it, and as if nothing out of it could get into it. It was not like the heads of the Cardinals and Popes in Raphael's Miracle of the Conversion (oh, no!); nor was it "one of those heads which Guido has often painted, mild, pale, penetrating, looking forward beyond this world." On the other hand, it looked down, like a school-boy's nailed to his task, upon the book which the Bishop held in his hand; and there was nothing in the book to reflect the light of genius on the preacher's face. In short, it was a face transplanted out of the German, able to digest solid folios, and solid beef and pudding, and as proper to block up the way to common sense or wisdom, in a narrow pass of school-divinity, as the Marchesa's, or any other persons,—"by standing in door-ways,"[53]—to stop up the way to a fashionable rout. It was a head on which criticism can make no impression, and we make ours with the less scruple on that account. We are, however, considerably posed in making it out for want of materials. *Of nothing nothing comes.* Herbert Marsh is not "witty in himself, nor the cause of wit in other men." He is too dull to joke or be joked upon. Dr. South, though a Bishop, was witty in the pulpit; Tillotson was amiable; Barrow was eloquent; Atterbury was elegant; Swift was sensible; Berkeley was subtle; Butler was profound: but the present Bishop of Landaff was none of these. His manner and his matter were dry; he said nothing to touch the affections or exalt the imagination (and yet, on the occasion and subject on which he spoke, he might have done this by an *inuendo*, in a way that could not well have been construed into an offence against court etiquette); and when he tried to argue, he only argued against himself, and overturned one jejune, hard-strained, *tritical* observation, by another, as jejune, as hard-strained, and as *tritical*. "His reasons were as two grains in a bushel of chaff: he had hunted a long time to find them, and when he had found them, they were not worth the keeping." The subject chosen for the discourse, the meeting of friends and relations in another and a better world, and their mutually recognising one another, was one eminently calculated for the display of feeling and of fancy; but as we never heard

[51] Herbert Marsh (1757-1839), critical theologian, Cambridge B. A. (1779) and M. A. (1782), was Bishop of Llandaff, 1816-19, and Bishop of Peterborough, 1819-39.

[52] Princess Charlotte, daughter of the Prince Regent, died 6 Nov. 1817.

[53] Source unidentified.

that the translator of Michaelis[54] was distinguished for these, we supposed he would supply their place by acuteness or reasoning and ingenuity of illustration, either from the works of nature or the word of God. Not so. To the most hackneyed texts the most dogmatical and abrupt inferences were added (as from the common text, that we shall see the face of the Lord, it was pretended that we must therefore know one another's faces, which is what Partridge, the schoolmaster, would have called a *non sequitur*.) Again, when the Bishop ventured, after due apologies for the condescension, from the ground of authority to that of reason, it fared still worse with him, and he floundered about more feebly and clumsily than before.

FOR EXAMPLE. He wanted to prove, that from the analogy of natural to revealed religion, the righteous would know one another in heaven. "For," says the Right Reverend Divine, "is not the marked distinction between the course of the common affections of *man* and *wife*," (a curious infelicity of expression), "and of parent and child, in the brute and the human creation, a demonstrative proof of this? The attachment of the brute to its offspring ceases with the arrival of the latter to an adult age; they mutually forget each other, when the physical necessity for assistance and protection is no longer felt: but in the human species this attachment and knowledge are permanent, ceasing only with the life of each, a proof that the same knowledge and attachment to each other will be renewed and rendered eternal in the life to come! For was it to be supposed, that a good and wise Creator would plant this affection in the human breast, and make it fixed and unalterable, thus subjecting parents and offspring to the pain of mutual separation, if this were not to be compensated by the pleasure of meeting again hereafter?" Why, what bald stuff is here! Does the Bishop mean to contend seriously, that the relation of parent and child, and "all the charities of father, son, and brother,"[55] are of no use, no value here, except they are renewed hereafter? That they contain in themselves no compensation for the pain of sudden separation, or other misfortunes, from the general balance of happiness they afford? Does he mean to say, that the knowledge which human beings continue to have of one another is not a necessary consequence of their greater strength of memory and power of understanding, and that independently of any other consideration of *final causes*, their affections must be more permanent while their ideas were so, whether we suppose this permanence of affection to be productive of greater pleasure or pain? But we will not dispute with a Bishop: we will let him contradict himself. For no sooner had our grave Pulpit Orator advanced this irrefragable argument of the utter uselessness and mischievous consequences of the natural affections in the human species, except as they are to be continued in another world, than he proceeded, like a true controversial adept, nothing doubting his own competence to any question, and superiority to common sense and reason, to prove the reverse of all that he had been before trying to prove. "There was one objection," his Lordship candidly stated, "to qualify the exultation and satisfaction which this prospect of the re-union of families and friends was calculated to impress upon the Christian believer; which was the case of a virtuous parent having a wicked and reprobate child, whom he could not hope to meet in a place of bliss, and the consciousness of whose eternal doom to misery might damp the unalloyed pleasure of the pious parent, in the thoughts of his own salvation and the enjoyment of the beatific vision. But," said our spiritual teacher gravely, "this will appear, on a closer inspection, to be but a superficial objection; for," says he, "we are to recollect that in a future world all our affections will be swallowed up and lost in the glory hereafter to be revealed, and in the contemplation of the divine perfections; so that all that we have been most attached to and interested in here,

[54] Johann David Michaelis, *Introduction to the New Testament*, translated from the fourth edition of the German, augmented with Notes, etc. (And a Dissertation on the origin and composition of the three first Gospels), by Herbert Marsh (4 vols. Cambridge, 1793-1801).

[55] Source unidentified.

we shall look upon with the greatest indifference, just as we forget and disregard the toys and feathers and rattles of our childhood." So that here is a sermon, composed and preached before the Prince Regent, to prove that the great source of our satisfaction in heaven, and the only reason for the existence of the private and family affections here, is their renewal and perfection hereafter; and then comes our theological reasoner, in order to get rid of an unforeseen objection, with a sweeping argument, to shew that this pretended renovation of old friendships and affections, will form no more a part of our contemplations or pursuits, than the playthings and the pap which our nurses gave us in our infancy. This may be very good reasoning in the pulpit, but we are sure it will do no where else! The hearing of this sermon confirmed us in an opinion we had long suspected to be true, that a great theological controversialist (which we understand Dr. Marsh is accounted to be by his brethren of the blunted quill) is not a person of remarkable natural or acquired acuteness, but of extraordinary obtuseness of understanding and feeling, both natural and acquired.—He does not succeed by his penetration, but by his impenetrability. Nothing makes any impression on him. He is therefore invulnerable to argument, and proof against conviction. To be sensible of error, a man must understand the force of truth: but a thoroughbred case-hardened controversialist understands nothing. He contradicts himself without knowing it, and therefore with impunity. He can maintain opposite opinions with equal success and stupidity. He has his cue, his side to maintain, for some purpose or other,—obstinacy, pride, or interest; and any argument will serve his turn, the weakest as well as the best, for he does not know the difference between sense and absurdity. A blockhead is naturally invincible in argument; nor are the bench of Bishops corrigible to every [*sic:* even?] the smallest shew of wit or reason. The Bishop of whom we have been speaking is a great partisan of the Established Church, and a redoubted biblical champion. He has, they say, never been beaten; that is, he never felt that he was beaten. He has therefore gone on defending the faith: he has therefore been made a Bishop: he has therefore taken a house at the corner of New-Palace yard, to be ready, at a moment's warning, to run down to the Lords, after a hasty, hearty dinner, to read prayers and give his vote—not against Ministers. Why are these things suffered? Why do the bench of Bishops sit in the House of Lords, to give the formality of their sanction to what they dare not disapprove? They may be always counted on beforehand. Why might not a set of *lay-figures* answer all the same purpose, and be made to repeat AYE or NO, as the first Lord of the Treasury pleases, as regularly as the figures at St. Dunstan's strike the clock? "It is necessary they should sit there to look after spiritualities!"—Temporalities, you mean—to find out the shortest cut from Landaff to Canterbury. We cry them Mercy. But as to this sermon preached at the Chapel Royal, we had as soon read another lay-sermon of Mr. Coleridge's as hear it over again!

Lindsay's *General William Booth:* A Bibliographical and Textual Note

By G. Thomas Tanselle

MORE and more attention is quite rightly being given to textual problems in modern authors as scholars and readers in general become more cognizant of the deplorable state of many modern texts. The case for careful textual study of modern writers has been forcefully stated (with numerous examples of serious textual flaws in modern works) by Fredson Bowers and by Bruce Harkness, to name only two.[1] Another illustration of their point may be found by examining the text of Vachel Lindsay's *General William Booth* volume. The title poem appeared in Harriet Monroe's *Poetry* in January 1913 and was hailed as a great event in the world of poetry; the volume, published near the end of the same year by Mitchell Kennerley, is generally regarded as one of the significant and influential works in modern American poetry, one of the earliest expressions of the "new" poetry. The book deserves, therefore, for its historical importance if for no other reason, an accurate bibliographical description and a complete textual collation.[2]

Before we turn to the first edition of *William Booth,* it will be revealing, if discouraging, to make a brief survey of the way the texts of two poems from this volume have been presented to the public in anthologies. Recently I took a number of anthologies at random from the shelf—both high school and college textbooks and anthologies intended for the general public—and in very few cases did I find texts that corresponded exactly with *any* of Lindsay's own published ver-

[1] Bowers, *Textual and Literary Criticism* (Cambridge, 1959), pp. 1-34; Harkness, "Bibliography and the Novelistic Fallacy," *Studies in Bibliography* XII (1959), 59-73. See also Matthew J. Bruccoli, "A Mirror for Bibliographers: Duplicate Plates in Modern Printing," *PBSA* LIV (1960), 83-88.

[2] Since this paper was written, a bibliographical description of the copy in the Lilly Library has been published in a checklist by Cecil K. Byrd in the *Indiana University Bookman,* No. 5 (Dec. 1960), p. 83; the present description has been retained since it contains several details not given by Byrd.

sions of "General William Booth Enters into Heaven" or "The Eagle That Is Forgotten." It is true that many of the differences were matters of punctuation. But in modern works, where punctuation no longer depends on the whim of the printer, do we have the right to alter punctuation at will? It goes without saying that changes in punctuation can influence meaning or destroy a special effect created by the author's own distinctive use of punctuation. Besides, if a reprinted text is labeled as following a particular edition (as some of these are and as all of them should be), then the reader has the right to assume that it does follow that edition in every detail (except where the editor has specifically noted otherwise).

In the textbook, *Adventures in American Literature* (ed. Inglis, Bowman, Gehlmann, Schramm; 4th ed., 1949), "General William Booth Enters into Heaven" differs at thirteen points from the text of the Kennerley edition, and only one of these alterations is a change made in the revised edition of Lindsay's work (1925). Two of these changes are in capitalization, two in spelling, eight in punctuation, and one in grammatical form—from "blowed" to "blew," probably a result of the editors' fears of setting a bad example for high school students. In one well-known college text, Norman Foerster's *American Poetry and Prose* (3rd ed., 1947), there are four changes in this poem: stanza divisions are made at two additional places (after lines 4 and 18), a comma is added (in line 26), and, most serious of all, the word "lasses" in line 16 of all Lindsay's versions becomes "lassies." The fourth edition of this anthology, ten years later, corrects the faulty stanza divisions, but leaves the added comma—and the "lassies." The copyright acknowledgments in both these editions list the source of the text as "*Collected Poems*. . . . Copyright 1931." Not only does the text given not correspond to the text of the *Collected Poems*, but that volume was copyrighted in 1925 and it is the *Selected Poems* that came out in 1931.

The added comma in line 26 raises an interesting question, since it is also present in the high school anthology mentioned above and in Louis Untermeyer's *Modern American Poetry* (6th rev. ed., 1942). The Kennerley edition reads, at this point, ". . . he looked the chief/Eagle countenance in sharp relief. . . ." Since these editors understandably felt the need for punctuation after "chief," they might have inserted a colon rather than a comma, adding a note to the effect that a colon did

in fact appear at this spot in the original periodical publication of the poem. The reading with the colon is clearly superior, yet other editors, such as Oscar Williams in his *Pocket Book of Modern Verse* (rev. ed., 1958) and Mark Van Doren in his *American Poets 1630-1930* (1933), attempting to be faithful to the last printed text, give no punctuation here. Does the fact that the line remains without punctuation in Lindsay's revised editions necessarily mean that Lindsay wanted the line not to be punctuated? Is the last revision always the best, or may errors in it be corrected by comparison with earlier versions? It is the old question of distinguishing authorial revisions from printers' errors.

"The Eagle That Is Forgotten" exhibits even more variants in the anthologies and brings up a more interesting problem. The 1919 edition of Untermeyer's *Modern American Poetry* changes the punctuation twice and the text once; his 1923 edition of *Modern American and British Poetry* makes four changes of punctuation and one of text; and his 1942 edition of *Modern American Poetry* alters the punctuation five times and the text once. This poem in Lindsay's *Collected Poems* differs in only one mark of punctuation from the Kennerley text, yet this is *not* one of the alterations made in Untermeyer's 1942 edition, although the *Collected Poems* is listed in the copyright acknowledgments. To take another example, Marguerite Wilkinson, in her anthology *Contemporary Poetry* (1923), makes fifteen changes in this 21-line poem, one of which is a change of tense ("were ended" to "are ended" in line 6).[3] Upton Sinclair's anthology *The Cry for Justice* (1915), published just two years after the *Booth* volume, also makes fifteen punctuation changes (different from those of Wilkinson) and omits the stanza divisions.

Instead of going on with these examples, which could be extended almost indefinitely, let us look at the more serious question of a variant reading present in some anthologies. The high school textbook (Inglis *et al.*) mentioned earlier gives the following reading for line 8 of the poem: "The widow bereft of her pittance, the boy without youth"; but the Kennerley edition and all other editions of Lindsay's work read, "The widow bereft of her crust, and the boy without youth." The "pittance" reading, however, turns up in other anthologies. I have

[3] I have examined two printings of this anthology, six years apart—January 1925 and August 1931—and the changes are present in both.

not been able to discover the origin of this variant, but it exists in Drinkwater, Canby, and Benét's *Twentieth-Century Poetry* (1929), where the punctuation also is changed at twelve points, and in the three Untermeyer editions checked (the 1919 edition of which is thus the earliest instance of the variant I have found).[4]

This survey of only a few anthologies indicates the kind of treatment that has been given to the text of at least one modern poet. In an attempt to begin to set the record straight, let us examine the first edition of *William Booth* and make note of Lindsay's own later revisions.

The volume was published by Mitchell Kennerley on 10 Dec. 1913 (copies deposited for copyright 18 Dec. 1913; entered in the *Publishers' Weekly* list of new publications on 20 Dec. 1913), with the following title-page:

> GENERAL WILLIAM BOOTH | ENTERS INTO HEAVEN AND | OTHER POEMS BY | NICHOLAS VACHEL LINDSAY | [publisher's monogram: MK in circle] | NEW YORK - MITCHELL KENNERLEY 1913

Collation: (7½ x 5 1/16): [unsigned, 1-8⁸], 64 leaves, pp. [*8*] 1-119 [120]. The book is printed in old-style type, 26 ll., 4 11/16 (5) x 3⅛, on white wove unwatermarked paper (sheets bulk 7/16″). It is bound, with fore and bottom edges uncut, in dark red ribbed cloth with a triple-rule frame blind-stamped on the front and the publisher's initials blind-stamped in the center of the back; the spine (except for the triple rules blind-stamped at top and bottom) is stamped in gold: GENERAL | WILLIAM | BOOTH | NICHOLAS | VACHEL | LINDSAY | MITCHELL | KENNERLEY. The endpapers, though heavier, are also of white wove unwatermarked paper. There is no half-title—the title-page is prp. [*1*]; prp. [*2*]: '*Copyright 1913 by* | *Mitchell Kennerley* | *Printed in America*'; prp. [*3*]: dedication to Arthur Paul Wakefield and Olive Lindsay Wakefield; prp. [*4*]: blank; prpp. [*5-7*]: table of contents (58 poems); prp. [*8*]: acknowledgments for permission to reprint; pp. 1-119: text; p. [120]: blank. Pagination is in the headline against the outer margin of the type-page; the running title on

[4] I have not checked the various newspaper appearances of the poem in 1911; but since the poem was included in a volume in 1913, it seems unlikely that an editor of an anthology after that time would have sought out the original periodical appearance as the basis for his text.

versos is '*General William Booth*' and on rectos '*Nicholas Vachel Lindsay*' (with a rule below the running titles and pagination). Because Lindsay had some financial difficulties with Kennerley, he switched to Macmillan early in 1916; thus the later printings of *William Booth* (using the Kennerley plates) not only have the Macmillan imprint but this copyright notice: "Copyright 1913 by The Macmillan Company."[5] Macmillan issued *William Booth* on 15 Mar. 1916 in a printing of nearly 4,000 copies.[6]

A complete description of this volume must of course take account of the text, so that one will be aware of misprints and of revisions later made by Lindsay. As a step toward establishing a definitive text of the poems in the *Booth* volume, we shall compare four texts: the 1913 Kennerley edition, the 1923 *Collected Poems*, the 1925 "revised and illustrated" *Collected Poems*, and the 1931 *Selected Poems*, edited by Hazelton Spencer. All the poems in the 1913 volume except one ("To the United States Senate") are included somewhere in the *Collected Poems*. The list below, therefore, gives all the variants between the texts of 1913 and 1925. At only seven points does the 1923 text differ from the 1925 revision (that is, as far as the poems originally published in the *Booth* volume are concerned). In six of those cases the reading is identical with the 1913 text, and in the other instance it differs from both 1913 and 1925; in the following list, a dagger marks the 1923 reading in these seven instances.

Examination of all the variants shows that most of them are rather arbitrary mechanical changes—in punctuation, capitalization, or spelling—and that in only fifteen cases are verbal alterations made (marked with asterisks below). Since these mechanical changes are matters of personal preference,[7] editors would presumably follow the text of the last revision by the author. Yet at some spots the 1925 edition seems to be clearly in error. For example, is the period after "wings" in line

[5] The 1916 copies I have seen are printed on laid paper, with the title-page (bearing the date 1916 on recto and 1913 on verso) and half-title (with a list of works by Lindsay on verso) both inserted on wove paper. On the relationship of Lindsay with Kennerley, see Eleanor Ruggles, *The West-Going Heart* (New York, 1959), esp. pp. 221, 223, 227.

[6] Information supplied by the Office Manager of The Macmillan Company, who was unable to furnish any facts about the original Kennerley printing.

[7] It should be pointed out that not all these punctuation changes are arbitrary. The comma after "chance" on p. 303, line 25, and after "gone" on p. 272, line 1, as well as the period after "day" on p. 96, line 1, correct obvious errors in the 1913 edition.

6 of page 299 a misprint for the comma of the 1913 text? The removal of the comma at the end of line 25, page 307, is obviously a mistake, as is the insertion of one after "I" in line 6, page 309. Similarly, the 1913 punctuation is much better than the commas in 1925 at the ends of line 5, page 198, and of line 16, page 309. As pointed out above, it is sometimes helpful to refer to the original appearance of the poem. Thus the printing of "General William Booth" in the January 1913 issue of *Poetry* (I, 101-103) differs at forty-four points (besides the changes in the wording of the musical directions) from the Kennerley printing. Most of these involve insignificant changes of punctuation, but there is one interesting verbal change ("bazoos blowing" becomes "trumpets blowed a" in line 21) and at least one punctuation reading that is better than the reading at that point in any of the later editions (the colon after "chief" in line 26, noted above).

The majority of the verbal alterations occur in two poems, "The Wedding of the Rose and the Lotus" and "The Potato's Dance." In the first of these, the opening four lines are almost entirely rewritten. In the second (1913, pp. 67-69; 1925, pp. 126-129), eleven of the lines of the 1913 version are repeated twice in the revised versions; thus, for example, the opening line of the poem is, in 1923 and 1925, repeated as lines 2 and 3 also. This repetition (with commas at the ends of the lines) occurs in connection with lines 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 17, 20, 21, 23, 33 of the 1913 edition. Also, after the double repetition of line 20, lines 19-20 are repeated as a unit; in the repetition of line 23 the first word, "They," is omitted; and one other line, number 34, is repeated once.

Of the sixty-four poems in the 1913 volume (counting the parts of "The Light o' the Moon" as separate poems, since they are so considered in the later editions), twenty-six are included in the *Selected Poems* of 1931. The text generally follows that of 1925, and the eighteen variants are almost entirely matters of punctuation and spelling. In five instances the "thro' " and "tho' " of the 1925 volume are spelled out, but this practice is by no means followed consistently (see pp. 122, 131, 132, 162, for example)—just as the removal of the hyphen from such words as "to-day" was not carried out consistently in the 1923 and 1925 revisions. An important comma is added at the end of line 11 of "The Eagle That Is Forgotten" (p. 40); "tiny" is repeated (surely an oversight) in line 27 of "The Potato's Dance" in

place of "airy" (p. 142); and "flees" becomes "flees from" in line 29 of "The Tree of Laughing Bells" (p. 130).

But the two most interesting variations in this 1931 text illustrate how errors may be discovered by recourse to earlier texts and how they may rapidly multiply without such recourse. The 1931 printing of "The Wizard in the Street" does not make a stanza division after line 32 (p. 163) as does the 1923 (p. 257); a glance at the 1913 volume shows why the stanza division was erroneously made in 1923—line 32 is the last line on a page (p. 56). The compounding of errors can be seen by following the mutations of the word "trailing" in line 108 of "The Tree of Laughing Bells." The "trailing wings" of 1913 (p. 79) becomes the meaningless "training wings" of 1923 *and* 1925 (p. 216). In an attempt to correct this obvious misprint, the editor (I assume) of the 1931 volume, without referring to the 1913 edition, emended the phrase to read "straining wings" (p. 132). This reading, alien to the light and fanciful quality of the poem, was still present in the 1936 printing of the *Selected Poems.*

In the full list of variants below, no notice is taken of changes in titles of poems, of the grouping of short poems together (as in the "Litany of the Heroes") or the breaking up of longer poems, or of changes in or additions to introductory prose comments and dedications. The figures refer to pages and lines and are based on a count of all lines of poetry on a given page (excluding titles and prose notes). It should also be remembered that a complete textual study would have to take into account versions of the poems prior to the 1913 edition. Besides the periodical appearances, one should consult Lindsay's privately printed Springfield pamphlets and the manuscripts. For example, the manuscript of "The Song of the Garden-Toad" (p. 109), in the Lilly Library at Indiana University, reveals verbal changes in lines which show no alteration after the 1913 edition. Lines 8 and 9 in the manuscript read, "Who makes the mould all fine | And packs each seedling 'mid the rain" instead of the later "Who made the mold all fine | And packed each gentle seedling down"; lines 21-24 read in manuscript, "Down, down where rose roots never reach | In venom caves they squirm. | Peace cometh not with all the rain | And worm devoureth worm," as compared to the 1913 version: "Down, down where rain has never come | They fight in burning graves, | Bleeding

and drinking blood | Within those venom-caves." As for other poems in the *Booth* volume, the manuscript of the title poem, containing many revisions, is in the Houghton Library at Harvard, and the moon poems are at the University of Chicago.[8]

These observations on the state of the text of one small volume of twentieth-century verse should suggest that the editorial problems involved in modern literary works, while usually of lesser magnitude than those connected with earlier works, nevertheless cannot be dismissed as negligible or unimportant.

TABLE OF VARIANT READINGS

Kennerley, 1913		*Collected*, 1925	
1,6	bravoes	123,11	bravos
1,9	mouldy	123,14	moldy
2,13	Faith	124,9	faith
*3,5	Yet in †	124,19	Then, in
3,17	O,	125,5	Oh,
7,21	he †	311,3	He
8,12	he †	311,18	He
8,18	he †	311,24	He
9,11	please?"	303,11	please"?
10,5	chance	303,25	chance,
11,11	Somehow,	304,26	Somehow
12,1	O God's people,	385,13	Oh God's people
12,3	Saul the first-anointed—	385,15	Saul, the first anointed,
12,5	Prophets:	386,1	prophets:
12,7	ended	386,3	ended,
12,14	to-day,	386,10	today
12,15	sheep	386,11	sheep,
13,2	black	386,14	black,
13,3	border	386,15	border,
13,5	fair,	386,17	fair
*13,12	words divine—	386,24	tunes divine.
13,13-16	[italics]	386,25-28	[roman]
13,13	*Zion!*	386,25	Zion.
13,15	*Shepherd David*—	386,27	shepherd David,
13,16	*rill!*"	386,28	rill."
14,1	turned,	337,7	turned

* Verbal changes.

† The readings of the 1923 *Collected Poems*, when they differ from the 1925 revised edition.

[8] For information about manuscripts, I am especially indebted to Doris M. Reed of the Lilly Library, Indiana University; I wish also to thank Mr. William H. Bond of the Houghton Library at Harvard University, Mrs. Judith S. Bond of the University of Chicago Library, Mr. Alexander P. Clark of the Princeton University Library, and Mr. Paul R. Rugen of the New York Public Library.

14,8 to-day."
15,11 grape stained sage:
15,12 him.)
17,2 mine:
17,7 another's
17,9 long drawn
17,22 wings,
21,5 half shut
23,12 destroy,
*24,7 grimly begging
24,18 dead. [† dead,]
29,14 to-day,
*30,1 The wide Pacific waters
30,2 meet.
*30,3 With cries of joy they mingle,
*30,4 In tides of love they greet.
30,5 drowned
30,7-31,13 [9 *occurrences of* lotos]
31,14 red red
36,6 O
36,17 begin,
39,9 marvelous
39,10 I know.
40,3 to-night,
44,2 jeweled
46,3 Rome,
47,9 Come,
58,5 after day,
60,6 heaven-enthroned
61,7 Nay
62,7 every-day
65,13 never ceasing.—
65,14 never ending.—
67-69 [see text above]
68,2 night
68,4 pearly-white.
68,6 pane:
68,12 grow—
68,13 guest,
*68,15 fairy
*68,16 That
69,2 same,
69,3 scrambled
69,4 dame:
69,12 golden-brown and slim:
*69,13 The lady loved his figure.

69,14 him.
69,17 coal-bin
69,18 to-day
69,19 sighs—
*69,20 His
*69,21 beauteous

337,14 today."
338,9 grape-stained sage
338,10 him):
298,14 mine;
298,19 another's,
298,21 long-drawn
299,6 wings.
306,5 half-shut
297,10 destroy.
294,24 chanting, begging,
295,9 dead:
52,10 today,
211,21 Flags of the Pacific
211,22 meet,
211,23 Captain calls to captain,
211,24 Fleet makes cheer with fleet.
212,1 drownèd
212,3-27 [lotus]
212,28 red, red
307,14 Oh,
307,25 begin
309,5 marvellous
309,6 I, know.
367,3 tonight,
188,10 jewelled
335,15 Rome
302,5 Come
96,1 after day.
191,30 Heaven-enthroned
191,23 Nay,
191,15 everyday
201,8 never-ceasing.—
201,9 never-ending.—
126-129 [see text above]
127,2 night,
127,6 pearly white.
127,10 pane.
127,22 grow,
127,23 guest
127,25 airy
127,26 Who
128,9 same.
128,10 scrambled,
128,13 dame,
128,21 golden brown and slim.
128,22-24 The lady loved his dancing, [3 times]
128,25 him,
128,29 coal-bin,
128,30 today,
128,31 sighs
129,1 And his
129,2 glorious

*69,22	radiant Irish lady
69,23	Who gives potatoes eyes."
*71,5	sea of Wails.
72,16	morn:
74,11	subtilely
75,19	O
*79,5	trailing
80,6	way:
88,12	Dream led,
91,11	reveling
92,16	gone
97,7	sword-fish,
99,8	shears.
113,2	sea,
*113,7	built †
114,18	lovers
119,13	go †
129,3	beauteous Irish lady,
129,4-7	Who | Gives | Potatoes | Eyes."
198,5	Sea that Wails,
197,16	morn;
213,11	subtlely
214,9	Oh,
216,30	training
217,21	Way:
269,9	Dream-led,
271,9	revelling
272,1	gone,
226,1	swordfish,
309,16	shears,
72,14	Sea,
72,19	build
73,10	lovers,
76,7	go,

Bibliographical Notes

Another Booklist of Thomas Charde

Three booklists of Charde have so far been discovered, each being used as endpapers by a contemporary binder.[1] A fourth, which I have found, is in the Bodleian, Tanner MS 79, f. 189:

To my L. Bisshoppe of Worcestre[2] from the 11th of August 1582

	Brocardus in apocalipsim 8°	0-1-6
	Bezas meditations and paraphro. gilt	0-1-0
	Disputations at the tower	0-1-4
	Disputa. at the tower	0-1-8
	Buchonani cronicon scotiæ	0-9-0
	Duræns contra Whitakerũ	0-6-0
	Harveis astrologicall Discorses	0-0-4
	fox de christo gratis iustificante	0-1-8
	example of the man	0-0-2
2	mappes of Worcestershire	0-5-0
	A mappe of Warwikeshire	0-2-6
	Opuscula cornelij La[a]s	0-2-6
	Travers booke	0-1-4
	fenners booke	0-1-4
2	edict of the Arch. of Colin	0-0-4
	ffulkes Defence agaynst martin	0-3-2
	B. Iewell on the thessalonians	0-1-6
	B. Iewells sermons	0-1-4
	Sum̃a	2-1-8

Receaved this some of 2-1-8. the 18th of May 1583 by the handes of Mr Turswell[3] in full payment of all rekoninges due vnto me by my L. Bisshoppe of Worcestre.

By me Thomas Chayre.

Endorsement: Thomas Chayrs acquit- | tanc for 2li 1s 8d | paye the 18 of May | for books for my Lord | byshop of Worcester.

[1] Robert Jahn, "Letters and Booklists of Thomas Chard (or Chare) of London, 1583-4," *The Library*, 2nd ser., IV (1923-24), 219-37; Donald Paige, "An Additional Letter and Booklist of Thomas Chard, Stationer of London," *The Library*, 4th ser., XXI (1940-41), 26-43.

[2] John Whitgift (1530-1604), *v. D.N.B.*

[3] Thomas Turswell (1548-85), *v. D.N.B.*

The following items I have been able to identify:

Brocard, James. The reuelation of S. Ihon reueled, 1582. (STC 3810).

Beza, Théodore de. Christian meditations upon eight Psalmes, 1582 (STC 2004) or possibly the edition of 1583 (STC 2005).

Buchanan, George. Rerum Scoticarum historia, 1582. (STC 3991) or possibly the edition of 1583 (STC 3992).

Dury, Joannes. Confutatio responsionis Gulielmi Whitakeri, Paris, 1582.

Harvey, Richard. An astrological discourse vpon the coniunction of Saturne & Jupiter, 1583 (STC 12910).

Foxe, John. De Christo gratis iustificante, 1583 (STC 11234).

Prince, John. A fruitfull discourse of the nature of man, 1583 (STC 20370).

Travers, Walter. An answere to a supplicatorie epistle of G. T. for the pretended catholiques, 1583 (STC 24181) or (STC 24182).

Fenner, Dudley. An answere unto the Confutation of J. Nichols his recantation, 1583 (STC 10764).

Gebhardt, Archbishop of Cologne. A declaration made by the Archbp. of Collen vpon his mariage. [Tr. T. Deloney.], 1583 (STC 11694).

Fulke, William. A defense of the sincere a. true translations of the holie scriptures into the English tong, 1583 (STC 11430).

Jewel, John. An exposition upon the two epistles to the Thessalonians, 1583 (STC 14603).

Jewel, John. Certeine sermons preached before the Queenes Maiestie and at Paules crosse, etc., 1583 (STC 14596) which is the same as (STC 14597).

Lloyd E. Berry

University of Illinois

Blyenburg Corrects His Book

In 1599, the Elzevir press at Leiden brought out a thin volume of Latin verse by Damas van Blyenburg (or Damasus Blyenburgius) entitled *Cento Ethicus ex variis poetiis hinc inde contextus* (Brunet i. 982). Blyenburg (1558-1616) came from a distinguished Dutch family and devoted much of his life to public service, serving as director of the Mint of Holland for a number of years (Michaud, *Biographie Universelle*, iv.475). Apparently one of his avocations was the composition of moralizing Latin verse, which he doubtless felt merited the dignity of print so that it might circulate beyond an intimate circle of family

and friends (perhaps he subsidized publication). Yet such verse as the following example from the *Cento Ethicus* strikes us today as somewhat jejune:

> Nam labuntur opes celeri quasi flumine puls[ae]
> Pauper & est subito qui modo diues erat. (sig. B1^{r})

But the present note is concerned with an entirely different matter: an errata section, common enough in early books, at the end of the Folger Shakespeare Library copy of the *Cento Ethicus*. The distressed author has here collected a large number of misprints, many of which perpetrated serious substantive errors, such as the reading *in nostra putantur* where the context calls for *in nostra potestate*. As he begs indulgence of the reader, Blyenburg then observes of such distressing blemishes in his book:

> Nihil ad sensum facit; quem vel puer videat, & imperitus aliquis Poïseos; & forsan Corrector talis. Ignoscendum est Operis Typographic[i] binis de causis. Primò idiotae quòd sint. Secundò quòd illis difficilè fuerit manum fugientem & praecipitantem assequi. In quâ & mihi nonnumquam haesit aqua: ex sensu tamen colligo quomodo legendum . . . (sig. R 3$^{r\text{-}v}$)

This passage may be freely rendered as follows: "It makes no sense—which even a child might see, or somebody unskilled in poetry (perhaps the proofreader was such a person). But typographical compositors should be pardoned for two reasons: first, because they may be ignorant; secondly, because it is hard for them to follow manuscripts written in hasty, cursive fashion. I myself have had such difficulty; but I manage to get the sense of a passage from the context. . . ."

Since this sad matter is familiar to all bibliographers, any further discussion on my part would be wholly gratuitous; but the fact that it is here so carefully described should prove of more than passing interest.

R. H. Bowers

University of Florida

Josse Glover Breaks Into Print

How the nonconformist clergyman Josse Glover bought the equipment for the first New England press and died on shipboard while bringing it to Boston in 1638 is told by George Parker Winship in *The Cambridge Press 1638-1692*.

In probing the problem of the seeming lack of a skilled printer, Winship concludes: "It is even more unlikely that the rector of Sutton, who is not known ever to have written anything that was printed, knew anything about the typographic craft."[1] At first glance quite unexciting, the document reprinted below proves that on at least one occasion Glover did get into print and that he was acquainted in London publishing circles. Other circumstances may provide clues for specialists in the colonial press.

The text has been unnoticed because of the rarity of the book in which it appears. The only known copy is found in a rich but seldom explored collection, the library of Princeton Theological Seminary. A slender duodecimo published in 1630 by the bookseller Nicholas Bourne, it is Samuel Egerton's *Comforts to Strengthen the Weake in Faith*.[2] Each reader may judge whether Glover's reference to "the Publisher" concerns the bookseller Bourne or the editor, an untraced Francis Hulme. However, Bourne's known preference for religious treatises, his shop ban on printed plays, and his prominence in the trade are factors to weigh; such a bookseller might well have been acquainted with a puritan preacher who shared the carelessness of his age in applying the term "publisher."

No actual contact can be traced with a print-shop. The imprint names no printer. Bourne himself had entered the book in the Stationers' Register, under a rather longer title, on 2 May 1629. This entry bears on one matter that should be clarified before Glover is quoted—Glover's doubt about the authorship of the book. The editor Hulme declares that it is "thought to be penned by an Ancient . . . Preachers [*sic*] in this City, but because it is vncertaine I haue therefore concealed his name." Bourne's entry in the Register lists it as written by S.E. By time of publication Bourne either satisfied himself as to the authorship or judged that sales would be stimulated by the name of such a venerated puritan, for Egerton's name is printed on the title-page. Doubt about the authorship of minor religious treatises was not uncommon at this period; the present writer has noted an instance involving the New England preacher Thomas Hooker.[3]

In a position of honor preceding the editor's foreword, Glover's epistle directly follows the title-page and occupies signatures A3-4. It is here reproduced from photostats kindly supplied by the librarian of the Speer Library, Princeton Theological Seminary:

[1] *The Cambridge Press* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945), p. 9.

[2] Unrecorded in the Pollard and Redgrave *Short-Title Catalogue*, the book was first listed in the 1950 edition of W. W. Bishop's *Checklist of American Copies*, appendix of *STC* addenda.

[3] *Studies in Bibliography* XIV (1961), 210.

To the Reader.

Christian Reader: I was desired by the Publisher of this Treatise, to prefixe an Epistle before it: the Epistle must bee but short, the Treatise it selfe being but small. I conceiue it to be an vsefull and profitable Booke, for the comforting of a feeble minde, and for the satisfying of a distressed Soule: in that weighty and most necessary case of Conscience, concerning the certaintie of saluation. It directs to the vse of Faith, which is a shield to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked one. It doth discouer the sleights of Sathan, and giueth full answer to them. Some weake Christians haue reaped much comfort for the stablishing of their hearts, by the reading of the written Copie, which encouraged the Publisher to divulge it, that more might reape benefit by it, it being made common by the printing of it. It is not written with the intising words of mans wisedome, for shew and ostentation; but in demonstration of the Spirit, and of power, to edification and comfort.

The Author, though hee be vnknowne, yet this worke of his will sufficiently proue him to be a man to whom God hath giuen the tongue and penne of the learned, to minister a word of comfort to a weary soule. Make vse of the labours of this Seruant of the Lord, for thine owne good; and profit by it, for the helping of thy vnbeliefe, and for the edifying of thee in thy holy Faith, and for the keeping thee in the loue of God, which will make thy life comfortable, and thy death ioyous. I desire the Lord to blesse this, and all the faithfull labours of his seruants, that aime at his glory, and the comfort of his people. And so I rest,

Thine in the Lord,
Ios: Glover.

Franklin B. Williams, Jr.

Georgetown University

John Andrews's "History of the War with America:" A Further Note on Eighteenth-Century Plagiarism

It is now well established that plagiarism was a common practice in the eighteenth century and that contemporary historians of the American revolution, tempted by the market for books about America and unhindered by effective copyright laws, were among the worst offenders. The list of histories of the revolution shown to have been wholly or partly plagiarized now stands at ten and includes most of the contemporary accounts once held in esteem.[1]

[1] The ten pseudo-histories are:
William Gordon, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America* (4 vols., London, 1788; 3 vols., New York, 1789); David Ramsay, *History of the American Revolution* (2 vols., Philadelphia,

Among the few eighteenth-century histories of the revolution which have withstood, or at least avoided, the assault of historiographical criticism is John Andrews's *History of the War with America* (4 vols., London, 1785-86). Although not a work of primary importance as a history of or as a source for the revolution, bibliographical authorities, past and present, have uniformly held it to be a contemporary contribution of modest worth. And since its authenticity has not been refuted it stands at present as testimony that plagiarism was not all-pervasive among eighteenth-century historians of the revolution.[2]

In its own day the *History of the War with America* was cordially, if not enthusiastically, received, as the following review, which appeared shortly after the final volume left the press, indicates:

> This History is chiefly compiled from the public prints, and the proceedings of the House of Commons; and is frequently interspersed with pertinent political remarks. The facts in general are well recorded; in some circumstances we think the Author has not been fully informed, but these are few. Impartiality, the greatest recommendation of an historian, especially the historian of his own times, seems to have been much attended to by the Author;

1789; London, 1793); William Russell, *The History of America* (2 vols., London, 1778), Appendix; James Murray, *Impartial History of the Present War in America* (3 vols., Newcastle upon the Tyne, *ca.* 1778); anon., *An Impartial History of the War in America between Great Britain and Her Colonies from its Commencement to the end of the year 1779* (London, 1780); anon., *The History of the Origin, Rise and Progress of the War in America between Great Britain and Her Colonies, from its Commencement in the Year 1764 to the time of General Gage's Arrival at Boston in 1774* (London, n.d.; Boston, 1780); anon., *The History of the War in America between Great Britain and Her Colonies from its commencement to the end of the Year 1778* (2 vols., Dublin, 1779; London, 1780; Boston, 1781); John Marshall, *Life of George Washington* (5 vols., Phil., 1804-07); Thomas Anburey, *Travels through the Interior Parts of America* (London, 1789); Charles Stedman, *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American War* (2 vols., London, 1794).

Scholarly examinations of the above works are found in:

Orin G. Libby, "A Critical Examination of William Gordon's History of the American Revolution," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* I (1889), 367-88; Libby, "Some Pseudo Histories of the American Revolution," *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters* XIII, pt. I (1900), 419-25; Libby, "Ramsay as a Plagiarist," *American Historical Review* VII (1902), 697-703; William Foran, "John Marshall as a Historian" *American Historical Review* XLIII (Oct. 1937), 51-64; W. J. Bell, Jr., "Thomas Anburey's 'Travels Through America': A Note on Eighteenth Century Plagiarism," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* XXXVII (1943), 23-36; R. Kent Newmyer, "Charles Stedman's History of the American War," *American Historical Review* LXIII (July 1958), 924-34.

[2] The present writer has called Andrews's *History* into question but has not verified his charge. See "Charles Stedman's *History of the American War*," *American Historical Review* LXIII (July 1958), 934, note 26.

> and . . . on the whole, he has placed things in a proper light, and apparently attributed them to their true causes. . . .[3]

The gist of the review is that Andrews relied largely on primary material and, moreover, did so with honesty and diligence. These two facts alone, if true, would make the *History* worthy of perusal.

Later bibliographers, in dealing with Andrews's *History*, have not deviated from the opinion expressed in this early review. So similar, in fact, are their comments that one is tempted to conclude that they have not bothered to consult the original work. William Lowndes refers to the four volumes as a "judicious compilation."[4] It is highly commended by Dr. Boucher.[5] Obadiah Rich implies original research and honest presentation when he states that the work was "Compiled chiefly from the newspapers and proceedings of the House of Commons."[6] J. N. Larned's *Literature of American History* presents concisely what seems to be the present scholarly evaluation of Andrews's *History:*

> The narrative . . . is one of the most detailed accounts written by any Englishman. . . . The work is frankly a compilation, but shows much effort to obtain the exact facts, is fairly judicial, and shows marked impartiality of temper in dealing with the motives of the American colonists, and a fair amount of care in preparation. . . .[7]

The reputation of the author, moreover, was such as to corroborate the above evaluations. In Robert Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, Dr. Andrews is mentioned as an "eminent Historian and Politician."[8] His obituary in *The Gentleman's Magazine* mourns the loss of such an "able historian" and "profound scholar."[9]

Finally as a pledge of honesty and quality there appears in the preface of the work a statement by the publisher that the author has "sought for and obtained Information Military, Naval, and Political, from all the four quarters of the Globe. . . ."[10]

From the above comments by contemporaries, bibliographers, and the pub-

[3] John Rotheram, "Article 16 [Review of Andrews's *History*]," *The Monthly Review*, First Series, LXXV (1786), 466.

[4] William Lowndes, *The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature* (6 vols., London, 1890), I, 44.

[5] As cited in Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to America from its Discovery to the present time* (29 vols., New York, 1868-1936), I, 191.

[6] O. Rich, *Bibliotheca Britannica Nova* (8 vols., London, 1832), I, 329.

[7] J. N. Larned, ed., *The Literature of American History* (Reprint, Columbia, Ohio, 1953), 114.

[8] Robert Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica* (4 vols., Edinburgh, 1824), I, 31.

[9] *The Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle* LXXIX (Feb. 1809), 186.

[10] Andrews, *History of the War*, I, i.

lisher one would expect in the *History of the War with America* a conscientious effort to write a history of the war, an attempt incorporating, if not profound scholarship, at least minimum standards of historical workmanship.

Such is not the case. Upon examination it is obvious that Andrews has fallen prey to the temptations of his age and that his *History* must be added to the already lengthy list of spurious histories of the revolution. And, like them, Andrews's work was taken in large measure from the pages of the British *Annual Register*.[11] This serial, begun in 1758, contained, among its variegated subject matter a series of chapters entitled "The History of Europe," which, during the years of the colonial-British contention, contained a running account of developments at home and abroad. Andrews did not look beyond this convenient series of chapters for his *History*, though in no place in the four volumes does he acknowledge the fact.

In the accounts of Ramsay, Stedman, and even Gordon there are portions which are based either on sound research or accurate first-hand observation. Not so with Andrews's volumes. With few exceptions the entire work can be traced to the *Register*. The pattern of copying, insofar as it can be classified, falls into three categories: word-for-word copying; paraphrase, punctuated by frequent injection of identical words and phrases from the *Register;* and extreme abridgement with considerable deviation from the wording of the original (though a noticeable similarity still obtains). These three patterns are often mingled in such a way that classification of some sections of the work according to technique is almost impossible.

Although in places Andrews's use of extreme condensation makes his plagiarism difficult to document, a running textual comparison of his four volumes with the appropriate sections of the sixteen volumes of the *Register* which cover the same period leaves no doubt as to the true source of the *History of the War with America*.

Evidence of plagiarism, in one or another of its forms, to corroborate the above allegation, is to be found on nearly every page of the four volumes. A brief example from each will have to suffice.

Annual Register VIII, 50[12]

The ships in the harbour hanged out their colours half mast high, in token

[11] *The Annual Register, Or A View of the History, Politics, and Literature, For the Year 1758*—(4th ed., London, 1758—).

[12] For further examples of plagiarism in volume one the reader might consult: *Annual Register* XVII, 77 and Andrews I, 126. *Annual Register* XVIII, 2 and Andrews I, 129. *Annual Register* XVIII, 7 and Andrews I, 136. *Annual Register* XVIII, 24 and Andrews I, 157. *Annual Register* XVIII, 35 and Andrews I, 166. *Annual Register* XVIII, 83 and Andrews I, 242. *Annual Register* XVIII, 105 and Andrews I, 257.

of the deepest mourning; the bells rang muffled; the act itself was printed, with a death's head to it in the place where it is usual to fix the stamps, and cried publickly about the streets by the name of the "Folly of England, and Ruin of America."

Andrews, *History* I, 41

The colours of the shipping of the harbour were hoisted half-mast, the bells of the churches were muffled, and tolled a funeral peal; the act was printed with a Death's Head affixed to it, in lieu of the King's Arms: It was cryed about the streets, and stiled "The Folly of England, and the Ruin of America."

Annual Register XIX, 168[13]

At length, Adjutant General Paterson was sent to New-York by General Howe, with a letter addressed to George Washington, &c. &c. &c. That General received him with great politeness, and the usual ceremony of blind-folding, in passing through the fortifications, was dispensed with in his favour. The Adjutant regretted, in the name of his principals, the difficulties which had arisen with respect to addressing the letters; declared their high esteem for his person and character, and that they did not mean to derogate from the respect due to his rank; and that it was hoped the et cetera's would remove the impediments to their correspondence.

Andrews, *History* II, 228

In order to obviate this difficulty, Adjutant-General Paterson was sent by General Howe, with a letter directed to "George Washington, &c. &c. &c." His reception was extremely polite; upon his asking for the General, he was immediately admitted, and the usual formality of blind-folding was dispensed with, as a peculiar mark of respect. The General received him in great form and dignity. The Adjutant expressed much concern in the behalf of his principals, on account of the difficulties that had arisen from the superscription of the letter; assured him of their high regard and esteem for his personal character, and that they had no intention to undervalue his rank. It was hoped therefore that the *et ceteras* would remove all obstructions to their mutual intercourse.

[13] For further examples of plagiarism in volume two note:
Annual Register XIX, 49 and Andrews II, 34. *Annual Register* XIX, 53 and Andrews II, 45. *Annual Register* XIX, 71 and Andrews II, 88. *Annual Register* XIX, 112 and Andrews II, 122. *Annual Register* XIX, 160 and Andrews II, 174. *Annual Register* XIX, 169 and Andrews II, 230. *Annual Register* XX, 28 and Andrews II, 306. *Annual Register* XXI, 37 and Andrews II, 427.

Annual Register XXII, 121[14]

About this time also, or soon after, Sir Robert Harland, Captain Leveson Gower, Sir John Lindsay, and some other officers of high name and distinguished merit, either quitted the service, or declined acting under the present system. And so general was the discontent and defection, that it was reported and believed, that no less than twenty, of the most experienced and distinguished captains in the navy, were on the point of throwing up their commissions on one day in a body.

Andrews, *History* III, 239

This resignation was shortly after followed by that of Sir Robert Harland, Sir John Lindsay, and several other officers of great reputation. So general were the discontents, that no less, it was said, than twenty Captains of the first distinction in the navy, had proposed to throw up their commissions in a body on the same day.

Annual Register XXIV, 53[15]

Tarleton was then at such a distance, as afforded no room for apprehension of him, until, at least, some considerable part of the business was effected; but his motions were so sudden and unexpected, and he passed the Wateree, and the Broad River with such rapidity, that he had nearly surprized his too secure enemy on the South banks of the Ennoree, before he had the smallest apprehension of his danger. This being, however, prevented, by the lucky information of a deserter, Sumpter had barely time to pass that river with the utmost precipitation; but could not save his rear-guard from being cut to pieces.

Andrews, *History* IV, 86

The Colonel was at this time at such a distance from the enemy, that they did not imagine it was in his power to arrive in time to prevent them from executing their designs. But so great was his diligence, that he penetrated through a large extent of country, in which he had several deep and broad rivers to cross, and almost came up with General Sumpter before he was apprized of his motions.—The American General was preparing to pass the

[14] For plagiarism in volume three see also:
Annual Register XXI, 85 and Andrews III, 20. *Annual Register* XXI, 228 and Andrews III, 120. *Annual Register* XXII, 31 and Andrews III, 164. *Annual Register* XXII, 196 and Andrews III, 296. *Annual Register* XXIII, 191 and Andrews III, 418. *Annual Register* XXIII, 214 and Andrews III, 431.

[15] For further proof of plagiarism in volume four see:
Annual Register XXIV, 26 and Andrews IV, 67. *Annual Register* XXIV, 108 and Andrews IV, 130. *Annual Register* XXV, 117 and Andrews IV, 175. *Annual Register* XXIV, 93 and Andrews IV, 185. *Annual Register* XXV, 219 and Andrews IV, 263. *Annual Register* XXVI, 130 and Andrews IV, 362.

> river Ennoree, when he was informed of Colonel Tarleton's approach. He had hardly time to convey his main body to the other side; but his rear-guard could not escape, every man being either killed or taken.

It is apparent that Andrews's *History of the War* stands as one of the most extensively plagiarized histories of the revolution. The entire work bears the mark of the same unhappy practice—proceedings in Parliament, military events in America, naval engagements, and political transactions. A major proportion of all are either copied or paraphrased with greater or lesser condensation from a single source—the *Annual Register*. Those pages, which I have estimated to be about fifty, which cannot be traced to the *Register* can hardly be assumed meritorious. And if they were they would be insufficient to redeem the author from the curse of his method.

Even as a secondary account of the *Register* this work has little to recommend it. Andrews's alteration of the organization and felicity of phrase of the original and his occasional biased interjections[16] have made for an account far inferior to the *Register* in balance and readability.

Several general observations might be made in the light of the discovery of another plagiarized history of the revolution. First, it would seem reasonable to question the authenticity of the remainder of the numerous historical works of Andrews.[17] They can hardly be accepted until cleared of the taint of bad method which has been attached to them by the *History of the War with America*. Secondly, and more importantly, the popularity and significance of the *Annual Register* is again accentuated. Relied on in large measure by no less than eleven histories, it emerges as the most important contemporary history of the revolution. About the *Register* there is much to be known. Who was responsible for the chapters on the American war? What were the sources and methodology employed in those chapters? What was the impact of the publication on contemporary readers? Historiographers and students of the revolution would profit greatly from answers to such questions.

Finally, the appearance of another spurious history at this late date tempts one to think that rare books have been more talked about and catalogued than read and studied. Accepted evaluations of these early publications, whether they be contemporary or recent, would bear closer scrutiny. It is not unlikely that

[16] Such an interjection can be seen in Andrews's handling of the controversial events at Lexington Green. The *Register* presents a balanced account of the affair, surmising that the first shot was fired by the British. A lack of evidence, it is added, has precluded any certain answers. Andrews is not bothered by the absence of evidence, indeed does not mention the fact, and proceeds to lay the blame for the first shot on the patriots. Compare *Annual Register* XVIII, 126 and Andrews, *History* I, 289.

[17] For a complete list of Andrews's publications see *The British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books* (London, 1931—), IV, 710.

many such works automatically accorded authority would not stand up well under scholarly examination. And more important, many of the old works not now known or appreciated might, upon investigation, add a new measure of understanding to our knowledge of the past.

R. Kent Newmyer

University of Connecticut

Artemus Ward His Book, 1862

Those who read with interest Jacob Blanck's Note in the Second Quarter, 1960, issue of the *Papers* concerning the various printings of Browne's *Artemus Ward His Book* (1862) may wish to note the following:

1. A printing (or sub-printing) exists which, for want of a better designation, we might call printing 2a. It is identical with the second printing as described by Blanck except that a signature 2 is present on p. [15]. In the detailed analysis presented by Blanck this feature was present in printings 3 and 4 only. Logic would suggest that such copies were bound up sufficiently late to allow for the use (either by inadvertence or necessity) of sheets of the second gathering which had been prepared for the third printing. However, in the absence of clearer information than is now available as to the actual press-work involved, such an explanation must remain more convenient than convincing.

2. Another variant, also of Blanck's "2nd Printing," has come to hand, the exceptional characteristics of which are

1) Sig. 2 is present on p. [15].
2) Sig. 8 is absent on p. 92.
3) Sig. 8 is present on p. [95].

Here, again, is a copy which is a mixture of Blanck's 2nd & 3rd-4th printings so far as signatures are concerned, although the dedication page & advertisements correspond to the second printing as defined by Blanck. The solution of the problem presented by these variants, and the picture of printing-under-pressure which they suggest (and which is verified by known facts) may well lie in a consideration of the possibility of half-sheet printing, either in whole or in part, and in the possibility that a number of printing establishments were called upon to supply sheets when Carleton saw that he had a best-seller on his hands.

Norman Kane

Lansdowne, Pennsylvania

Mr. Ciardi, Mr. Adams, and Mr. White

I am naturally flattered by what Mr. Charles M. Adams writes about me in his review of *John Ciardi, a Bibliography*, by William White, in *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 55:272-73, Third Quarter 1961. But I am at a loss to understand both his bitterness and his inability to accept the author's introductory statement that the bibliography is incomplete. As the one responsible for its publication, I should like to explain that 1) the book was compiled in about three or four weeks at my request, 2) there was no time to compare my MSS. with printed material nor any chance whatever for Mr. White to dig up the juvenilia, which he mentions in his introduction, and 3) both Mr. Ciardi and I were far from "disappointed," as Mr. Adams suggested.

To expect a bibliographer to be complete, when he specifically says he is not so, is less than fair. The only actual flaw Mr. Adams cites—"edition" for "printing"—is hardly sufficient reason for his hostile tone. "Easily available periodicals" means what it says, not what Mr. Adams twists it to mean. And the index does not include material from my collection for good reason: my MSS. are already listed alphabetically on pp. 51-54, whereas the index was planned only for titles of Mr. Ciardi's books, his contributions to books, and periodical appearances—all listed chronologically. This should have been obvious to a reviewer more concerned with criticism than attack.

Finally, of course Mr. Adams "could quarrel with the author"; however, who would accept his authority on the little he writes in this ungracious review as against that of the author of more than thirty-five bibliographies and checklists?

CHARLES E. FEINBERG

Detroit

Letter to the Editor

Dear Sir:

Recently I had an opportunity to read Dorothy Mackay Quynn's contribution entitled "Bartgis' Lost Newspaper" in Vol. XXV, Second Quarter of your *Papers*. It might interest your readers that further bibliographical material on Matthias Bartgis has been published during recent years including appraisals of his entire career:

> Felix Reichmann, "German Printing in Maryland, A Check List, 1768-1950," *27th Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (1950), 9-70.

Klaus G. Wust, "Matthias Bartgis' Newspapers in Virginia," *American-German Review* XVIII (1951), i, 16-18.

Klaus G. Wust, "German Printing in Virginia, A Check List, 1789-1834," *28th Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* (1953), 54-66.

An interesting article on the activities of Bartgis as a publisher of German-language books was written by Dr. Sigfred Taubert in No. 60 of the *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel* Jahrgang 9 (Frankfurter Ausgabe), 28 July 1953.

The Bartgis newspaper mentioned in Dr. Quynn's article is listed in Dr. Reichmann's check list on page 25.

Sincerely yours,
KLAUS G. WUST, Editor,
Reports of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland

News and Notes

Edited by HERBERT CAHOON

(*M. A. McCorison, Pro Tem.*)

Your regular reporter is on a tour of Europe when this is written, no doubt for the sole purpose of gathering intelligence for this department, and thus it has fallen this person's unhappy lot to try to fill the vacuum.

❀ ❀ ❀

The annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society was held at Worcester, on 18 October. First-rate papers were given by Col. Edwin P. Hamilton of Fort Ticonderoga and by Mr. Roger Butterfield of *Life Magazine*. Colonel Hamilton related the story of Abbé Casgrain and Francis Parkman. The Colonel clearly demonstrated that when Parkman was writing *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Casgrain deliberately withheld the Bougainville journals in order to protect the reputation of the French-Canadians. Mr. Butterfield spoke knowledgeably and entertainingly of early American illustrated journalism. Both papers will find their way into print in the *Proceedings* of the Society.

Clifford K. Shipton, Director of A.A.S., reported on the progress of the micro-print edition of titles in Evans. Filming has now reached the year 1797 and the end is clearly in sight. When this current project is complete, Dr. Shipton plans to edit a micro-print edition of diaries listed by William Matthews in his *American Diaries . . . written prior to the year 1861*. Procedures are already under discussion.

The Librarian announced the acquisition of the hitherto unknown first American reprinting of *A New Journal of a Voyage round the World, Performed in His Majesty's Ship* Endeavour, *in the Years 1768, 1769, 1770, and 1771, by Captain James Cook; . . .* Philadelphia, 1774.

❀ ❀ ❀

For a number of years, staff members of the Society have watched several bibliographies come to fruition, and it is a pleasure to report that d'Alte A. Welch's work on American children's books printed prior to 1821 is complete. This bibliography brings together much new information and lists many unrecorded titles. Similarly, Milton Drake's bibliography of American almanacs, 1639-1875, is finished. Both titles are being considered for publication by interested

organizations. Roger Bristol's compilation of titles not included by Evans goes on apace and the list has passed the 10,000 mark.

❁ ❁ ❁

Professor Matthew J. Bruccoli, guiding hand of the Centenary Hawthorne Edition now in preparation at the Ohio State University, has commented upon the difficulty of locating Ticknor & Field or Houghton, Mifflin nineteenth-century editions of Hawthorne which are *not* firsts. He requests Hawthorne *afficionados* who own or know of such editions to write him at Columbus.

❁ ❁ ❁

Armin Renker, the historian of paper, died at his home in Zerkall-bei-Düren on 14 August 1961, aged 70.

❁ ❁ ❁

José E. Vargas has succeeded Javier Malagon as editor of *Revista Interamericana de Bibliografia.*

❁ ❁ ❁

Two interesting new programs have recently been announced by libraries. Indiana University has established the Lilly Library Fellowships "to give intensive instruction to prospective rare book librarians." Two appointments will be made, and inquiries about the details should be addressed to Robert A. Miller, Director of the Indiana University Libraries, Bloomington, Indiana. Applications are due on or before 15 March 1962. At Brown University, the John Carter Brown Library has established graduate fellowships designed to provide scholars engaged in writing theses "with an opportunity to carry out work in the Library's outstanding collection of books relating to America printed before 1801." Also announced is a group of postdoctoral fellowships which are designed to provide opportunities to work in the Library, without restriction on the field of study. Inquiries for both types of fellowship should be sent to Thomas R. Adams, Librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, Providence 12, Rhode Island. Applications are due on or before 1 February 1962.

Book Reviews

Edited by LAWRENCE S. THOMPSON

LYDENBERG, HARRY MILLER, and ARCHER, JOHN. *The Care and Repair of Books*. Revised by John Alden. New York: R. R. Bowker Company, 1960. 122 pp. $6.15.

The reissue of this familiar text in its fourth edition has been met with expressions of gratitude and welcome by several commentators in the journals of the library profession. Perhaps it is the nature of this reviewer's job that prevents a like expression of welcome. I would like to think not. It is true that most books needing repair in the libraries of the world are not "rare" books (whatever they may be) and just to keep a book together and usable is enough for most purposes. Fair enough, if that *were* all and if this book were designed only for the circulation-conscious librarian of the garden variety public library. But it is not so, for this book treats specifically of "old" books and even of illuminated manuscripts.

The authors state (p. 4) that they stress those methods of repair and restoration which can be carried out by the "individual or librarian without recourse to exceptional skill or machinery." On the face of it, good. But it won't do. It won't do at all. "Exceptional skill" is the rub. A particular skill is exceptional in one context, mediocre in another. Book mending skill is one thing among book menders, quite a different thing among librarians. I, a librarian, happen to possess better than average manual dexterity. Because of my personal interest in bookmaking, I probably possess more than average knowledge of papers, leathers, pastes, and the anatomy of books. But under no circumstances would I endeavor to chiffon, or silk, a book (p. 44), deacidify a manuscript and then laminate it (pp. 46-47), remove and then replace a tight leather back (pp. 53-55), restore lettering (p. 73), restore rubricated initials of illuminated manuscripts (p. 74), or repair and restore papyri, oriental and palm leaf manuscripts (pp.78-81). Throughout the section on repair the assumption is made that the "individual or librarian" is able to take a book apart and resew, rebind and refinish it. All these operations take "exceptional skill" and knowledge, in my book, and those librarians without that skill and knowledge who attempt these operations had better be drummed out of the trade. It all sounds so simple. Well, it isn't. A good part of the work of this library's rare book mender is spent trying to correct the abominations committed by eager do-it-yourselfers. He weeps as he works.

The authors recognize the great dangers of acid, its devastating effects on paper and leather. However, they have not recognized some of its sources. Through bitter experience we have. One is in papers used for repair, interleaving, flies, and folders used for storing manuscripts. Two criteria used by the layman (read *librarian*) to judge the quality of paper are its price (the more it costs the better it must be) and the protestations of the paper broker. Let me give some recent experiences of ours. A heavy, handmade, very expensive rag paper made by one of the most reputable papermakers of England was recently found to have a pH rating of 4.60 (slightly worse than newsprint at pH 4.73). An expensive chiffon tested at pH 4.41. A mending and interleaving tissue tested at pH 4.30. A paper broker, after several months of searching, offered a manuscript folder he "guaranteed" to be safe. It tested pH 4.79. This was reported to him and he came back a year later with four more samples, all of which he was sure of. The worst tested pH 4.71, the best pH 5.00. (This problem has been solved, at long last, by the folder offered by The Hollinger Corporation of Virginia.)

The authors of this book recommend several pastes and glues, polyvinal acetate and commercial dry flour paste among them. A commercial flour paste long used by this library had a pH rating of 4.65. (I can show to those interested a ruined De Bry chiffoned twenty years ago with chiffon at pH 4.41, pasted on with flour paste at pH 4.65.) Here are the pH ratings of two common polyvinal acetate adhesives: Bro-Plastic, pH 3.40; Del Plastic, pH 4.05. (The best commercial pastes, nonplastic, we have found are Yes Paste at pH 6.30, and Sticko at pH 5.35.)

I often half-jokingly tell our book mender (who has skill and many years of experience), as I hand him a book, "Repair it but don't touch it." To anyone else I would say, "Don't touch it, period." Sad it is to contemplate, but after reading this manual too many will "restore and repair." More tears for skilled menders. I would be one of the last to bar the public from *Lady Chatterley* or *My Life and Loves*, but rereading this book makes me realize that perhaps, after all, I am in favor of book censorship.

Kenneth John Carpenter

University of California Library, Berkeley

Reichert, Herbert W., and Karl Schlechta. *International Nietzsche Bibliography*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1960. xvi, 133 pp. (University of North Carolina Studies in Comparative Literature, No. 29.) $5.00.

Hardly any other German thinker of the nineteenth century has exercised

such a profound influence upon the modern western mind as has Friedrich Nietzsche. In the past, Fritz Krökel's list of some 500 German titles, published in 1932, and a supplementary list by Max Oehler (1936) served as a guide for scholarly research on this controversial philosopher. Thus, a more comprehensive bibliography such as this, showing the critical reception of Nietzsche throughout Europe, America, and Asia as well as in the German speaking countries, has been long overdue and will be welcomed by every student of German literature and philosophy.

The present work, though by no means intended as exhaustive, contains almost 4,000 selected items in twenty-eight languages including Bulgarian, Finnish, Hungarian, Icelandic, and Vietnamese. Comprehensiveness has been sought only in listing monographs and the more important studies, *i.e.*, dissertations and articles in books and serious periodicals. Newspaper articles which were not written by outstanding scholars or which failed to offer new critical approaches were disregarded. In an effort to make even those items not listed in the bibliography available to researchers, a card file has been prepared in duplicate, located both in the German Department of the University of North Carolina and in the Philosophical Institute of the Technische Hochschule in Darmstadt.

The 4,000 items (most of which are in German, English, and French) are arranged by language rather than by subject, and within each language the listings are alphabetical by author. Though useful comments pertaining to the contents are included in a good many cases, this reviewer would have found both an author and a subject index most useful for quick reference.

There are, unfortunately, some bibliographical inconsistencies and misspellings both in names (e.g. No. 2561, Liliencron; No. 1016, No. 2118, Edmond Jaloux) and transcriptions of foreign titles (Nos. 725, 728, 3321, 2499, 3872, 3956a, 3959). Perhaps these errors could be eliminated if and when a second edition should materialize. In spite of these criticisms, this bibliography must be regarded as an important research tool, for which the editors deserve our sincere gratitude.

Klaus W. Jonas

University of Pittsburgh

Ristow, Walter W., ed. *A Survey of the Roads of the United States of America.* 1789. By Christopher Colles. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961. 227 pp. $7.50.

This is a book about surveying and mapping in Colonial America, with special emphasis on Christopher Colles and his published work: *A Survey of the Roads.*

The editor and compiler of this book is a geographer of long standing and a scholar well-equipped to bring together in readable form many interesting sidelights on the history of cartography and the professional careers of Christopher Colles, Robert Erskine, and Simeon DeWitt, three men who supplied the Continental Army and George Washington with essential geographical information during the American Revolution.

Colles, of English ancestry, was born in Dublin, Ireland, where he was trained in mathematics, geography, engineering, and "natural philosophy," a subject that could cover almost any branch of science. Thus equipped, he faced the world with many talents, considerable experience as an engineer, no money, but with a wife and four children. His friends and relatives raised passage money to get him and his family to the New World in 1771.

Life in America was a mixed blessing. "Lack of capital, the inability to inspire those who might have given aid, and the unfavorable economic climate of the times . . . doomed his every effort." Some historians call him a genius; others say he was an impractical visionary. This writer believes that he was ahead of the times and did not know how to handle the situation or his ideas.

In America he tried many things in order to provide a living for the family. He lectured the general public, he taught classes in "natural philosophy" and artillery. He invented machines of various kinds and proposed to Congress many ideas he had for improving the country, including one for the navigation of the Mohawk River, but the country was not ready for the Erie Canal. Nor was it mentally prepared for some of the other projects that Colles advanced.

The "Proposal" for a *Survey of the Roads* was greeted coolly by the legislative bodies that perused it, hence the gaps in the final publication. Colles received little encouragement or financial support for his project, even though it must have been apparent that the United States was here to stay.

The need for more and better maps of the new nation was of course recognized by all thinking persons of the United States, but no one wanted to pay the bills. Consequently, Colles had his troubles. The *Survey* was an ambitious project for an impecunious engineer to undertake, and just how many sheets he proposed to publish "by subscription" we may never know, but none of the fourteen "complete" copies of the *Survey* Dr. Ristow located (with title and 83 plates), includes Plates 34 to 39. He concludes that these were never issued.

Each strip or sheet in the series, includes, besides the location of cities and towns, residences of prominent citizens and other features of importance, notably blacksmith shops, churches, doctors, industries, mills, schools and colleges, stores and warehouses, and above all, taverns, which served as shelter and sources of entertainment and refreshment for man and beast in a country that was then sparsely built.

Dr. Ristow's account is a thorough study, complete with bibliographies and indexes.

Lloyd A. Brown

Lutherville, Maryland

Lindahl, Per-Erik. *Att samla böcker: Samlarteknik och några samlarområden.* Malmö: Bernces Förlag, 1961. 233 pp. Sw. kr. 28:50.

Per-Erik Lindahl's "Collecting Books: Techniques and Some Collecting Fields," written from the point of view of a private book collector rather than that of a book dealer, differs from recent English and American books on the subject in that it is itself a handsomely produced volume expressive of the author's delight in his pursuit, rather than the usual rather drab trade book cased in cheap cloth. It has been issued in paper covers only, decorated on the front with a woodcut in black of an eighteenth-century gentleman reading at leisure in his library, in satisfying contrast to the letterpress impression in red of the title, author's name, and publisher. A similar color arrangement has been used on the title-page. An ornamental initial in red after J. B. Descamps' *La vie des peintres flamands, &c.*, Paris, 1753-60, appears at the beginning of each chapter. There are twenty-five illustrations in black and white, and four excellent color plates, nearly all of which have been taken from the originals in the author's collection.

Lindahl's purpose is to provide a useful and attractive introduction to "The Art of Book Collecting"—this is the title of his first chapter—for Swedish readers. His style has the lively informality of the personal essay, and quite naturally he has drawn heavily on his own experiences as a collector. He is knowledgeable, discriminating, enthusiastic, and persuasive. Certainly any reader who comes to this book as a novice with some slight interest in the art will be inspired to begin in earnest; but let him be warned, says the author: "Collecting is an art, and although it is one which may be learned by all . . . , it demands patience, effort and hard work, and that its practitioners be prepared for defeat, disappointments, and sacrifice. Both heaven and hell await the true book collector."

The seasoned collector will find that Lindahl handles the familiar subjects with competence, although not in great detail. In a chapter on reading antiquarian catalogs he gives practical advice, and forthright evaluations of the book market in various European cities, and even frank comments on individual dealers, but there is no national bias here. Copenhagen is one of his favorite "book towns" and "with regard to antiquarian books, England is in a class by

itself." Of all the London dealers, W. R. Fletcher receives the highest praise: "His shop is a bibliophile's wonderland. . . . You can run your legs off all day hunting books in London, and yet not find a better shop than the one at 27 Cecil Court." But, Lindahl admits, every collector will have his own preference for one or another of these special friends of the bookman, who "are the most cultivated people in the business world."

There is a brief sketch of the history of book bindings, a chapter on incunables, and another on collecting European illustrated books, but the experienced American collector who might become interested in Swedish first editions or Swedish illustrated books—and there are surely a few with this inclination—will find more that is new to him in Lindahl's treatment of these subjects. Strindberg, Lagerlöf, Lagerkvist, the Swedish writers of the 1940's, and the modern Swedish book illustrators all suggest new fields with interesting possibilities. For the venturesome, with some knowledge of Swedish books and a taste for more, Lindahl's work will be a welcome introduction and guide.

Lists of abbreviations used in Swedish antiquarian catalogs and of the members of the Swedish Antiquarian Booksellers Association have been appended, together with an index and table of illustrations.

Thomas R. Buckman

University of Kansas Library

BRIEFER MENTION

With his *Bibliografia Mariana 1952-1957* (Rome: Edizioni "Marianum," 1959; 356 pp.; "Scripta Professorum Facultatis Theologicae 'Marianum' de Urbe Ordinis Servorum Mariae," 12) Rev. Giuseppe M. Besutti, O.S.M., has brought up to date his two previous Marian bibliographies, covering 1948-51 and 1950-51, respectively. The first two bibliographies contained some 2,200 entries and the present one contains 5,758. The arrangement is in classified order, and there is an author and subject index. The great ramification of Marian studies, extending to nearly all aspects of the Church's doctrines and programs, makes this series of bibliographies fundamental for Roman Catholic studies. Indeed, even local historians will find the work useful for the listing of articles on local Marian shrines (*e.g.*, four entries on California). Similarly, the sections devoted to articles on the Virgin in national literature and art will lend importance to this bibliography for general collections in the humanities.

Jack D. Rittenhouse's *New Mexico Civil War Bibliography* (Houston: Stagecoach Press, 1961; 37 pp.) is an annotated checklist of thirty-two volumes and

pamphlets that deal with the Civil War campaigns in New Mexico during the years 1861-62. The entries are rather complete, including full titles, imprints, size, collation, and description of binding or wrappers. At the end Mr. Rittenhouse reprints a rare New Mexico pamphlet, *The Santa Fe Gazette vs. the Citizens of Dona Ana County* (1864; 7 pp.), of which the only known copies are in Harvard University and the Wisconsin Historical Society. The book was partially handset by Mr. Rittenhouse and was printed in an edition of 400 copies.

Sorok let sovetskoi gosudarstvennoi bibliografii (1920-1960); sbornik statei (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Vsesoiuznoi Knizhnoi Palaty, 1960; 270 pp.) tells a story of vigorous and imaginative bibliographical activity throughout the Soviet Union during the last forty years. It is not surprising to read about bibliographical scholarship in Leningrad and Moscow, where these traditions were long rooted around the Leningrad Public Library and the predecessors of the present Lenin Library; but it is encouraging to observe the rapid development of the bibliographical programs in the various book chambers *(knizhnaia palata)* of the various Soviet republics. The volume is introduced by essays by E. I. Shamurin on the All-Union Book Chamber and the development of Soviet official bibliography and by IU.I. Masanov on the achievements of the All-Union Book Chamber in 1945-60. The remainder of the book consists of seventeen essays on the work of the book chambers of the various republics.

The second volume of *The Chester Beatty Library: A Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts and Miniatures* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis, 1960; 89 pp., 43 pl.) covers mss. 151-220 and was edited by A. J. Arberry. The first volume was edited by the late J. V. S. Wilkinson, and, upon his death, Sir Chester invited Mr. Arberry to edit the second and third volumes. The manuscripts described in the present volume date roughly from the period 1450-1550, and many are among the best surviving examples of Persian book painting. As Mr. Arberry points out in his foreword, the period coincides with the highest achievement of *Nasta'līq* calligraphy, and work by the greatest masters is fully represented. For each manuscript there is information on subject and arrangement, measurements, writing and paper, binding, date and scribe, illumination and illustrations, and seals and inscriptions; and each entry is signed by the initials of one of the cataloguers (in addition to Mr. Arberry, the late Mr. Wilkinson, the late E. Blochet, M. Minovi, and B. W. Robinson). The colored frontispiece (a scene showing the queen of fairies inviting a king to share her throne) is from the *Khamsah* of Niẓāmī; and both it and the forty-three plates have been carefully executed by Messrs. Emery Walker, Ltd., to bring out the miniaturists' details sharply. Like the other catalogues of the Chester Beatty Library, the present one is, in format and editing, fully worthy of the noble collection it describes. All the

Chester Beatty catalogues are major contributions to the study of the fields in which they fall, and those of oriental manuscripts are models for other cataloguers of this genre.

C. E. Dornbusch's *Regimental Publications and Personal Narratives of the Civil War,* currently being published in parts by the New York Public Library, is intended as a "revision of and supplement to the section on 'Military Organizations' " in the *Bibliography of State Participation in the Civil War* (3d ed.) published by the War Department Library in 1913 as its "Subject Catalogue No. 6." The first volume will cover the batteries and regiments of seventeen Northern states and will appear in seven parts. Part I (Illinois) appeared in 1961 (46 pp.), and the other six parts (including Part VII, the index) will appear in 1962.

The *Soupis děl J. A. Komenského v československých knihovnách, archivech a muzeích* (Praha: Státní Pedagogické Nakladelství, 1959; 472 pp.), edited by Emma Urbánková, is the definitive bibliography of the works of Johann Amos Comenius (1592-1670), the great Moravian church leader and educationist. In all, 854 editions of Comenius' works, in the original and in translation, are described in careful detail. The arrangement is alphabetical by title, with references in the main alphabet from variant and translated forms of the titles. Locations in Czech libraries are given for titles published before 1800, and an alphabetical list of these depositories shows the numbers of the titles held by each. The largest collection, is, of course in the University of Praha Library, which is also the national library. There is a list of printers of Comenius editions before 1800, arranged by city, and, finally, a comprehensive index of names.

Nils Nordqvist has been sending out annual holiday greetings from the Tryckeri AB Thule in Stockholm for a number of years in the form of essays on famous printers. The first group was collected and published in 1954 by the Sällskapet Bokvännerna under the title of *Berömda boktryckare,* and the six more essays since that date are sufficient in bulk to justify a second collection of *Berömda boktryckare* (Stockholm: Sällskapet Bokvännerna, 1961; 310 pp.; *Bokvännens bibliotek,* 55). This collection includes essays on books of hours from 1480 to 1520; the "triumvirate" in Basel (Frobenius, Erasmus, and Holbein); the "triumvirate" in Lyon (Granjon, Salomon, and Jean de Tournes); Pierre Simon Fourier as the master of small ornaments; the Didot dynasty; and Joaquín Ibarra. There is a full index of names.

Annalisa Forssberger's *Enid och Eros; tolv artiklar ur fyra aspekter på boken* (Stockholm: Rabén & Sjögren, 1960; 126 pp.) approaches the book from the standpoint of the bookseller, the librarian, the reader, and the author. Primarily literary criticism, the work nevertheless brings into sharp focus the standpoints

of those key figures of the book world. All twelve articles (reprinted from Swedish periodicals and newspapers) reveal insights and attitudes that necessarily come from the bibliological middlemen and are often foreign to the producers and consumers of books.

Several publications of considerable importance for Ecuadorean bibliography have been issued by the Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana in Quito in recent years. The second edition of Rafael Alvarado's *Indice de traducciones ecuatorianas* (1957; 54 pp.) records translations into Spanish that have been published in Quito. There are useful notes on some of the principal translators and on Ecuadorean authors whose works have been translated. Alfredo Chaves, director of the Archivo Nacional de Historia, is the author of a very useful compilation of *Fuentes principales de la bibliografía ecuatoriana* (1958; 24 pp.). He has provided not simply a list but also a commentary on the history of Ecuadorean bibliography. From the Biblioteca Nacional in Quito there is a list of *Incunables y libros raros y curiosos de los siglos XV, XVI, XVII y XVIII, de la sección llamada "Hispano-americana"* (1959; 108 pp.). It is an alphabetical list of about 900 rariora, some of which are important pieces of Americana. Father Miguel Sánchez Astudillo is the author of *Textos de catedráticos jesuitas en Quito colonial; estudio y bibliografía* (1959; 146 pp., 16 pl.). It is a list of 408 manuscripts produced by the Jesuits who operated the Universidad de San Gregorio Magno in Quito from 1622 to the suppression of the order in 1769. Altogether, this material is an invaluable record of intellectual activity in colonial Spanish America, and Father Sánchez has interpreted its meaning accurately in his introductory essay.

The fourth volume of Paul Lehmann's *Erforschung des Mittelalters* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1961; 412 pp.) contains twenty-three essays by Lehmann. Many of the studies in this collection deal indirectly with books, bibliography, and libraries, and well over a third of them are obviously for the bibliographer and palaeographer from their titles: "Einzelheiten und Eigenheiten des Schrift- und Buchwesens"; "Enim und Autem in mittelalterlichen lateinischen Handschriften"; "Die mittelalterliche Bibliothek der Reichenau"; "Handschriften aus Kloster Weissenau in Prag und Berlin"; "Handschriften und Handschriftenbruchstücke des 8.-15. Jahrhunderts in Esztergom"; "Besitzervermerke mittelalterlicher Handschriften"; "Aus dem Leben, dem Briefwechsel und der Büchersammlung eines Helfers der Philologen" (Bernhard Rottendorff); "Alte Vorläufer des Gesamtkatalogs"; "Der Schriftstellerkatalog des Arnold Gheylhoven von Rotterdam"; and "Dr. Johannes Tröster, ein humanistisch gesinnter Wohltäter bayerischer Büchersammlungen." Hiersemann is doing a noteworthy service to scholars in many fields by bringing Professor Lehmann's most important studies together. Students of the history of books and libraries

in the middle ages will find a fundamental point of departure in these four volumes and will be pleased to learn that a fifth is on its way.

Augusto Raúl Cortazar is the compiler of "José Hernández, 'Martín Fierro' y su crítico, aportes para una bibliografía" in the *Bibliografía argentina de artes y letras*, no. 6 (June 1960), pp. 50-129. He lists editions and translations of *Martín Fierro* and *La Vuelta* in chronological order, other works of Hernández, books and poems inspired by *Martín Fierro*, and, finally, critical studies of the great gaucho epic, arranged alphabetically by author. There is an author index to the bibliography, which has a total of 584 entries.

Uriel Weinreich's *Yiddish Language and Folklore, a Selective Bibliography for Research* (The Hague: Mouton, 1959; 66 pp.; *Janua linguarum* x) courageously attempts to select those items from the literature of the language and folklore of Ashkenazic Jewry which are eligible points of departure for research. A definitive bibliography of Yiddish linguistics, literature, and tradition is an urgent desideratum, but one that is not likely to be realized soon. In the meantime Professor Weinreich's bibliography will be an eminently useful supplement to the bibliographies in encyclopedias and other Yiddish bibliographical reference works. There are 481 items in the bibliography, arranged alphabetically, and there is an author index.

Another number in *Janua linguarum* (vi) which has a substantial value as a bibliographical reference work is *Peoples and Languages of the Caucasus; a Synopsis* (1959; 77 pp.) by Bernard Geiger, Tibor Halasi-Kun, Aert H. Kuipers, and Karl H. Menges. Most of the text is devoted to descriptive matter, but the "Bibliographical Appendix" is one of the best available bibliographical summaries of Caucasian culture.

Helge Nielsen's *Folkebibliotekernes forgaengere; oplysning, almue- og borgerbiblioteker fra 1770erne til 1834* (Copenhagen: Dansk Bibliografisk Kontor, 1960; 677 pp.) is considerably more than a history of Danish public libraries during the thirty years around the turn of the eighteenth century. Nielsen shows clearly how the whole concept of the organization of books and libraries, both for general reading and for scholarly purposes, changed during the period he covers; and it is not inappropriate that his final chapter deals with the Royal and University Libraries in Copenhagen. The work is documented in meticulous detail, and future historians of books and ideas in Europe will neglect it only to their regret.

Hans Fromm's *Germanistische Bibliographie seit 1945, Theorie und Kritik* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1960; 84 pp.) is a reprint of two articles from the *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* for 1952

and 1959, together with an author and title index. Fromm's critical approach to the work of Germanistic bibliographers commands the attention of all colleagues in this field. He not only points out lacunae and deficiencies in bibliographies that come within the scope of his survey but also offers many constructive suggestions on theory and method. While Fromm did not attempt to review all bibliographies in the field, he did manage to identify virtually all which have any fundamental significance for research.

The twelfth volume of *Der Romanführer* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1961; 460 pp.) concludes the largest and most successful of all collections of resumés of world fiction. Originally conceived by Wilhelm Olbrich soon after World War II, the work has been progressing at the rate of about one volume a year. Some 6,000 titles and perhaps 2,000 authors are represented in the whole work, an indispensable guide to the best fiction in world literature. The final volume covers modern fiction of the Scandinavian countries, Russia (émigré and Soviet), Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the Balkans. There are 219 authors and nearly 500 titles, with the Scandinavians and the Russians taking most of the space. The original edition of each work, the German translation, and a note on the setting precede the signed resumé, and at the end there is a list of other works by the writer. There are author and title indexes. The resumés are factual and make no effort to be critical, and they range in length from about 200 to 800 words.

Libris et Litteris, Festschrift für Hermann Tiemann zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 9. Juli 1959 (Hamburg: Maximilian-Gesellschaft, 1959; 360 pp.) commemorates the sixtieth birthday of a distinguished Romance philologist and bibliographer and one of the leaders in the revival of German scholarly libraries after the debacle of 1945. The essays are in three different sections, viz., history of libraries, history of books, and literary and cultural history. In the second section there are essays by Fritz Redenbacher on individual pictures and cycles of pictures in Bible illustration of the early middle ages; by Rudolf Juchhoff on the methodology of studies in prototypography; by Wilhelm Martin Luther on the non-liturgical music incunabula in Göttingen; by Hellmut Braun on the Hamburg Koran of 1694; by Gerhard Alexander on a remarkable seventeenth-century luxury binding for Oldenburg nobility, now in the University of Hamburg Library; and by Hans Wegener on an eighteenth-century Hamburg garden and its manuscript catalog.

Erik Lindegren states in the foreword to *Våra bokstaver* (Gothenburg: Slöjdföreningens Skola, Skolan för Bokindustri, 1959/60; 324 pp.) that "This book has already, strictly speaking, fulfilled its purpose by the satisfaction it has

given the compiler during the many stimulating years of production." Lindegren has ranged through the entire history of occidental typography and its epigraphic and calligraphic background. Major chapters deal with letters, printing types, classification of printing types, and display types; and there are two charming essays in the beginning and the middle of the book, an informal essay on the nature and essence of letters by Olof Lagerkrantz and some considerations on readability in printed texts by Bror Zachrisson. Most of the book consists of examples, chosen with an obvious sense of devotion to high typographical ideals, and notes on designers. An English translation of the text, printed separately, accompanies the Swedish original.

Charles Dickens continues to be a favorite object of the zeal of American collectors, and few reputable libraries cannot show Pickwick in parts, a handful of unpublished letters, and some extra-illustrated volumes (usually introduced by an original letter from the prolific Phiz). However, we may properly expect that the Dickens Collection of the University of Texas' Humanities Research Center is more impressive than most others, and so it appears in Mary Callista Carr's meticulous *Catalogue of the Dickens Collection at the University of Texas* (Austin: Humanities Research Center, University of Texas, 1961; 195 pp.; *Bibliographical Series* 1). The collections of T. E. Hanley, Mrs. Miriam Lutcher Stark, "Ellery Queen," George A. Aitken, Edwin Bachmann, and, inevitably, John Henry Wrenn are compounded at Texas to make one of the best Dickens collections in the United States. Manuscripts, books and periodicals, extra illustrations and portraits, Dickensiana, and biographies and bibliographies are listed in five separate sections.

Hans Ruppert, ed., *Goethes Bibliothek: Katalog* (Weimar: Arion Verlag, 1958; 825 pp.) is the first comprehensive catalog of the books that Goethe owned, now in the Goethe-National-Museum in Weimar. Before World War I, Carl Schüddekopf (1861-1917) attempted to publish his rather meticulous compilation of the books in Goethe's library, but the work never appeared in the complete form envisioned by Schüddekopf in the *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* XXV (1908), 380-82. Ruppert's work records 5,424 titles, including many pieces added since World War I and also those titles listed by Schüddekopf but lost as a result of storage in two different places during the war. Dedications, annotations, bookplates, and anything to associate a title with Goethe are recorded in the notes following the entry. The library is arranged in thirty-nine broad classes, and there is an author index.

Arno Schirokauer's *Germanistische Studien* (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1957; 451 pp.) contains several essays of interest to the bibliographer as well as to the

literary historian. "Der Anteil des Buchdrucks an der Bildung des Gemeindeutschen" (originally published in 1951) is an effective account of the rôle of the printed book in the history of the German language. Other essays such as "Spätromantik im Grimmschen Wörterbuch" (1942) and "Die Stellung Äsops in der Literatur des Mittelalters" (1953) also have a strong interest for the bibliographer. This collection of Schirokauer's essays was selected by Fritz Strich, and there is a bibliography of Schirokauer's scholarly work at the end of the volume.

The monumental *Bibliographia oeconomica Hungariae,* published under the auspices of the Hungarian Agricultural Museum, began to appear in 1934. The first volume, covering 1505-1805, appeared in 1934, and the second, covering 1806-30, appeared in 1938. Both volumes were arranged chronologically with author indexes, and, in the first volume, with biographical information about the authors. Although the Museum was ruined during World War II, the manuscript of the continuation of the work survived miraculously and was located at the time of the restoration of the Museum. Thus the third volume, covering 1831-67, appeared in 1956. However, the old chronological arrangement was given up in favor of a classified arrangement with a general author and title index. The fourth volume, covering 1868-96, appeared in 1959, and the fifth volume, covering 1897-1919, in 1961. The importance of a Hungarian bibliography of agriculture can hardly be over-emphasized on account of the continuing importance of Hungary as a major agricultural producer in Central Europe. At the same time the richness and breadth of the Hungarian literature in this broad field is often surprising. For example, of the twenty-one entries in vol. v and the nineteen in vol. iv on the breeding and racing of fine horses, none was located in the Keeneland Race Course Library in Lexington, although this library's collections in this field are comprehensive for English and western European publications. The contents and introduction are in Magyar, English, German, French, and Russian, thus considerably facilitating the use of the work.

The Tennyson Collection Presented to the University of Virginia in Honor of Edgar Finley Shannon, Jr. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1961; 52 pp.) tells several stories: a new and distinguished acquisition for the Alderman Library, the loyalty of Virginia's host of bibliophilic alumni, and, above all, the wisdom of Virginia's trustees in seeking a president from the ranks of scholars rather than following the trend of hiring educationist-presidents. The major portion of the collection was assembled by the late Templeton Crocker, but there are also additions made by C. Waller Barrett on the occasion of the presentation to the University of Virginia. John Cook Wyllie notes other Tennysoniana at Virginia in his "Introduction."

Dorothea Rammensee's *Bibliographie der Nürnberger Kinder- und Jugendbücher 1522-1914* (Bamberg: Meisenbach, 1961; 182 pp.) not only commemorates the tricentennial of Johann Amos Comenius' *Orbis sensualium pictus* but also a major center of publishing for children. From Andreas Osiander's *Ain schöne Frag vnd Antwurt den Jungen Kündern* (Nürnberg, 1522) to the period just before World War I the compiler records 1660 titles, locates copies, and provides pertinent references to bibliographical and biographical literature. There is a section of plates, an author index, and a chronological index. Dr. Karlheinz Goldmann has written a short foreword tracing the history of children's book publishing in Nürnberg; and, as librarian of the Nürnberg Stadtbibliothek, Dr. Goldmann also deserves credit for sponsoring this bibliography. Similar bibliographies of juveniles published in other cities, both in Europe and America, would be most welcome and would supplement admirably the histories of children's literature. An important contribution to the latter genre was Bettina Hürlimann's *Europäische Kinderbücher in drei Jahrhunderten* (Zürich: Atlantis-Verlag, 1959; 245 pp.). Miss Hürlimann covers a few more decades on either end of Miss Rammensee's termini, but the former's work can serve to place the Nürnberg activities in this field in European perspective.

The *Katalog der gedrucken und handschriftlichen Musikalien des 17. bis 19. Jahrhunderts im Besitze der Allgemeinen Musikgesellchaft Zürich* (Zürich: Im Verlag der Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft, 1960; 145 pp.) edited by Georg Walter, records a rich collection that goes back to the collections of Zürich musical societies of the early seventeenth century. In 1812 the old musical societies were dissolved, and their heir was the Allgemeine Musikgesellschaft. The collection is rich in spiritual and secular vocal and instrumental music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The present printed catalog does not record serials and publications about music, nor does it record recent works (by composers born after 1850). There is a full card catalog of the collection in the Zürich Zentralbibliothek, and current acquisitions are added to it regularly. The arrangement is alphabetical by composer, and manuscripts and printed works are in the same alphabet.

Die Handschriften der Bibliothek des Gymnasium Casimiranum und der Scheres-Zieritz-Bibliothek (Coburg, 1960; *Kataloge der Landesbibliothek Coburg* III), compiled by Franz Georg Kaltwasser, describes two rather miscellaneous groups of manuscripts now under the supervision of the Coburg Landesbibliothek. Dr. Kaltwasser describes these two collections in detail, according to the rules developed by the Deutsche Kommission of the Prussian Academy of Sciences in 1936. There are eighty-seven manuscripts in the first group, originally in the gymnasium founded around the turn of the sixteenth century by Duke Johann

Casimir of Saxony, and nineteen in the second, originally the property of Johann Conrad von Scheres-Zieritz towards the end of the seventeenth century. There is a concordance of shelf-marks and indexes of provenances, scribes, incipits, authors and subjects, and illustrations. The manuscripts are miscellaneous and vary substantially in their importance.

The great Yugoslav encyclopaedia, to be complete in well over a hundred volumes, is appearing in different series according to subject. There is also a bibliographical series, designed to provide analytical coverage of all Yugoslav publications, entitled *Bibliografija rasprava, članaka i književnih radova* (Zagreb, Izdanje i naklada Leksikografskog zavoda FNRJ). Part 1 of volume II, covering Yugoslav poets in the M-R section of the alphabet, appeared in 1961 in 658 double-columned pages. Single poems and critical literature are recorded in different alphabets, and there are indexes of subjects and authors and of initials, pseudonyms, and variant forms of names. The bibliographical series of the Yugoslav encyclopaedia is the fundamental work on South Slavic bibliography.

A facsimile of the unique copy of *Parthenia In-Violata*, one of the two printed collections of Elizabethan and Jacobean keyboard music, has been issued by the New York Public Library (1961). There is a foreword by Sydney Beck, an historical introduction by Thurston Dart, and a bibliographical note at the end by Richard J. Wolfe. Mr. Dart believes that *Parthenia In-Violata* was devised as a wedding present for the marriage of Charles I and Henrietta Maria, perhaps commissioned by the Duke of Buckingham. The better known "sister volume," *Parthenia or The Maydenhead of the first Musicke that ever was printed for the Virginals*, exists in four editions between 1612-13 and 1655, but the unique copy of *Parthenia In-Violata* is in the New York Public Library.

Rolf Volkmann's *Bibliographie der Heimatkunde des Landkreises Helmstedt* (Helmstedt: Landkreis Helmstedt—Zentralstelle für heimatkundliches Schrifttum, 1958; 340 pp.) is an exemplary bibliography of local history. Arranged geographically, first by jurisdictions of Lower Saxony in descending order of authority, then by communities in the Helmstedt "Landkreis" (pp. 49-255), the work is indexed by places, names, and catchwords. By far the largest section is devoted to the once-famous University of Helmstedt (1576-1810), occupying almost a hundred pages and thus lending this bibliography primary importance for the history of scholarship.

The *Katalog der Bibliothek der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft; Nachtrag 1950-1960* (Weimar, 1960; 116 pp.) records 849 titles of Shakespeariana added to the library in the last decade. It supplements the comprehensive catalogue of the Society's library which was published in 1951. While the catalogue

records very little that is not known to Shakespearian scholars from other bibliographical sources, it will be useful for recording translations and critical works published in Communist countries. Thus the Chinese translations of *Romeo and Juliet* (Shanghai, 1958) or of the *Tales from Shakespeare* (Peking, 1956) are not likely to be readily available in this country. The library is housed in the Thuringian Landesbibliothek in Weimar.

Lars Frykholm's *Översikt över samhällsvetenskapliga bibliografiska hjälpmedel* (Stockholm: Distributed by C. E. Fritzes Kungl. Hovbokhandel, 1960; 160 pp.) has an English sub-title, "A Survey of the Bibliographical Aids in the Social Sciences" and a short introduction in English, but otherwise the contents, headings, and indexes are in Swedish. Frykholm records nearly 2,000 titles of bibliographies and reference books that are essential for students of the social sciences. There is no other guide to the literature of the social sciences which is as up-to-date and as comprehensive. The work can be used effectively only by experienced scholars or by those who read Swedish. Any new edition will be much more widely used if the table of contents and section headings and, if possible, the index have a parallel text in English, German, or French.

The growing significance of Israel as a cultural center lends special significance to the various aspects of Israeli National bibliography. The 1961 edition of *Bar-David's Israel Book Catalog* (Tel-Aviv: Jaap Bar-David, 1961) records titles published until May 1961. This catalog is as complete as may reasonably be expected, although a few publishers who have permanently or temporarily discontinued the publication of new titles have been omitted. A few other publishers who submitted their lists too late for inclusion are also omitted.

Gogol in literatura romînă 1860-1960 (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1961; 84 pp.; "Biblioteca Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, Seria de Bibliografii Retrospective" 2) contains a list of translations of Gogol's works into Roumanian and critical studies of Gogol published in Roumania. There is an introductory essay, a list of periodicals from which articles are cited, and an index of names. A distinguished Roumanian scientist is commemorated in *Grigore Antipa (1867-1944)* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, 1961; 82 pp.; "Biblioteca Academiei Republicii Populare Romîne, Seria de Biobibliografii" 13). Antipa's own publications are recorded chronologically, and there is a list of writings about him and an introductory essay.

Bücher zum Bibliothekswesen: Bestandsverzeichnis (Berlin: Zentralinstitut für Bibliothekswesen, 1959; 186 pp.) records the holdings of the Zentralinstitut für Bibliothekswesen in its professional library. While a great deal of the ma-

terial in this catalogue deals exclusively with library administration, it does include a large body of reference material for the bibliographer. Specifically, it is unusually rich in the bibliographical literature of communist countries, often lacking or even unknown in American and western European libraries. The arrangement of the bibliography is classified, and there is an author index. When titles are not self-explanatory, there are brief annotations.

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The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME 55, NUMBER 3, JULY-SEPTEMBER, 1961

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA

Edited by ROBERT F. METZDORF

Editorial Office: 980 Madison Avenue, New York 21, New York
(Business mail: P. O. Box No. 397, GRAND CENTRAL STATION, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.)

News and Notes Editor: HERBERT CAHOON, The Pierpont Morgan Library, 33 East 36th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

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SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: $7.00 PER YEAR

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The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME 55, NUMBER 1, JANUARY-MARCH, 1961

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA

Edited by ROBERT F. METZDORF

Editorial Office: 1291 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut
(Business mail: P. O. Box No. 397, GRAND CENTRAL STATION, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.)

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SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: $7.00 PER YEAR

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